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Republican Third-Termers

There has been a good deal of criticism of Senator George W. Norris, who leads the independents supporting Mr. Roosevelt, because when Coolidge was thinking of running again he strongly opposed a third term. It is one of the stock devices of politics never to allow a man to change his mind, no matter how honestly he does it or how much circumstances alter. This principle, however, may be applied in reverse. When Senator La Follette—also now a supporter of the President—introduced his anti-third-term resolution in 1928, twenty-three good Republicans and true voted against it on the ground that a third term implied no danger to our democratic institutions. Among their number were such stalwart defenders of the Constitution as Senators Bingham, Moses, Smoot and Watson. And among them was Senator McNary, now the Republican candidate for Vice President.

Willkie No Churchill

Mr. Willkie pleads with the voters to elect him as a Winston Churchill who knows how to organize defense. This follows a quotation from a speech by Churchill made several years ago, in which the present British Prime Minister implied, according to Mr. Willkie, that Mr. Roosevelt was weakening the democratic front because his attacks on business hampered our recovery. To us, the identification Mr. Willkie suggests is ludicrous. Mr. Churchill's record of military management and energy dates back to the last war. When did Mr. Willkie, before this campaign, warn us against Hitler; when did he attack the appeasers; when did he predict, as Mr. Churchill did constantly, that the Hoare-Chamberlain policy could lead only to disaster?

Even more un-Willkie-like is the role Mr. Churchill is now playing. His first act as Prime Minister was to appoint prominent labor leaders to his inner Cabinet and put the war industries under their command. His second was to obtain the passage of laws making all persons and property subject to the orders of the state, and imposing a 100-percent excess-profits tax. What indignant outbursts would thunder from Mr. Willkie if the President should make Mr. Lewis and Mr. Hillman dictators of war industry and should deprive that industry of all excess profit!

TVA Power Is Needed

This is a good time to investigate the charges formerly made by opponents of the TVA ridiculing the defense value of the experiment and denying that there would ever be a demand for its "surplus" power for many years. The facts show that the region has been able not only to absorb this "surplus" but to be faced with a possible deficit through growing defense demands. Private business, Willkie or no Willkie, is seeking out the Tennessee Valley region. Within the past eight weeks a smokeless-powder plant, an aluminum company and an airplane-manufacturing concern have either begun construction in the Valley or have signified their intention to do so. Heavy demand alone is responsible for the TVA's defense power program, which passed the House of Representatives by the

CONTENTS

The Week 463

Editorials

The Threat from the Axis 466
Excess-Profits Sham 467
Author! Author! 468

General Articles

The Tides of Politics . . . . L. H. Bean 469
À la Carte (verse) . . . Kenneth Fearing 470
Goering Over England . . H. W. Brailsford 471
Law and Order in Norfolk . . Ted Poston 472
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 474
Other People's Money . . John T. Flynn 475
The Bandwagon 476
Correspondence 476

Books in Review

From the Finland Station . Malcolm Cowley 478
They Don't Just Fish . . . Otis Ferguson 480
The Eagles They Fly High . . Max Gissen 480
Man in White . . . . . Bruce Bliven 482
A Reader's List 482

Voters' Handbook (a special section) . The Editors 487

What They Promise—The Candidates—The Minor Parties—What They Did in Congress—Where the Republicans Have Won—The Congressional Contest—Who Will Win?—The Real Issues

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largest majority ever accorded a piece of TVA legislation. We note with pleasure that this measure received the urgent endorsement of Mr. Gano Dunn, former consultant for Commonwealth and Southern.

The Axis Faces South

Whether or not, as many believe, Hitler has been forced to give up his threatened invasion of Britain for the time being, there can be little doubt that during the winter the Axis will concentrate on the Mediterranean and the route to the Near East. This is of the highest military importance, for both offense and defense. Germany had plenty of oil for a short war, but she is not getting enough to replenish her stores. Even from a Nazi-controlled Rumania she cannot obtain all the oil available there, because the overland routes and the Danube form a bottleneck; transit through the Mediterranean, now interrupted by the British fleet, would be required for full shipment. Further East are the great producing regions of Irak and Iran, which would be tapped by control of Suez, Syria or the Dardanelles.

Possession of Gibraltar (to be attacked through a compliant Spain) at the other end of the Sea would perhaps bottle up the British Mediterranean fleet and prevent it from going home in case of need, and might open up access to the Atlantic through the blockade since the British have no other good naval base in this vicinity. Imminent danger to Gibraltar might cause the British to withdraw their Mediterranean fleet and leave the East unprotected; its capture would divide their forces, fatally so if Suez, too, should fall. A success for Graziani's campaign in Egypt, thrusting to the Canal, plus whatever Hitler may do from the North, could make the Axis invincible in a long war.

What Does Stalin Want Now?

Strong reassurances from Berlin that nothing is to be feared from Moscow, and the rumor of a new meeting between von Ribbentrop and Molotov, indicate that Hitler's drive to the Near East may be temporarily halted by Soviet opposition. It is reported that Communist propaganda in Bulgaria has taken on a marked anti-Nazi tone. The Germans are evidently hoping for Soviet adherence to the Axis pact with Japan, as a cover for an understanding about the Eastern Mediterranean that would permit Hitler to drive ahead with his plans. Pravda's statement that the Soviet Union will remain firmly neutral evidently is not enough. We have a suspicion that Stalin is merely waiting for his price, and that the Axis will not have difficulty in getting a green light, provided it is willing to pay. The only question is whether Stalin's price is so high that it would endanger the Axis conquest. If, for instance, it should be the Dardanelles, and if Moscow should without too much trouble succeed in wresting that stronghold from Turkey, Germany's route to the East would always be at Russia's mercy.

Dakar Fiasco

It was unfortunate for the cause of free France and Britain that the first enterprise under General de Gaulle—that aimed at taking over Dakar—should have been a fiasco. The General maintains that the inhabitants of the West African port were with him, but were forced to resist by officers loyal to the Vichy government, under Axis pressure. He asked for a peaceful surrender, and the besieging forces of French and British did not fire until after they were fired upon. He gave up the attempt when he discovered that he would have to fight Frenchmen. The affair is beclouded with conflicting reports, but even if de Gaulle's version is strictly correct, the outcome shows poor preparation and strategy. If the undertaking was based upon a belief that Dakar would surrender without a struggle, the intelligence service was at fault. If it was not based on such a belief, why was the port attacked at all if the besiegers were not ready to finish the job? Worst of all, Dakar remains under Axis control.

No Defense Chief Yet

One subject on which the President is persistently criticized by Mr. Willkie and his supporters is failure to appoint a chairman of the National Defense Advisory Commission. Mr. Roosevelt, he implies, is acting as chairman, and for this he is criticized both on the ground that he wants to enhance his personal power and that he does not understand the importance of full-time attention to this important job.

There is no question that the Commission should have a chairman. But there are good reasons for not appointing one before the election. Such an appointee would at once become the bull's-eye for the opposition fire. And his position might be untenable if the opposition should win. Whoever is to be President for the next four years ought to choose his own candidate for this post. Furthermore, it takes a little time for such a commission to shake down and reveal the capacities of its members. Our war effort in 1917 did not benefit from hasty appointments which necessitated a series of changes in its chiefs.

Advertising to the Front

The nomination of Congressman Bruce Barton for Republican Senator from New York, like the nomination of Wendell Willkie for President, indicates a shift in American mores. For years American business interests depended for their political spokesmen mainly upon routine politicians or corporation lawyers, of the old-fashioned type. Now they are taking on public-relations experts. Mr. Barton has been head of a prominent advertising agency; he has sold to the public many a product or idea which it was to the interest of his clients to sell. It was largely a group of advertising and magazine men who put Mr. Willkie over on the

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convention. Big business, having suffered a decline of prestige and having lost a favorable bias in the federal courts, is now trying to sell itself again to the voters.

Canard

Among the campaign stories calculated to rouse public suspicion is the charge that the President was an early opponent of the deposit-insurance plan of 1933. Yet the only measure of the sort to which the President objected was one that provided a blanket government guarantee for bank depositors. This he opposed on the ground that it would establish an unknown and unlimited liability for the United States Treasury. He did, however, support and sign the Glass-Steagall Act setting up the insurance. The only contribution made by the Republicans to this measure was an amendment suggested by Senator Vandenberg, which provided for a temporary insurance protecting depositors for a six months' period to the extent of $2,500 each, pending more study. In fact there is every evidence that since his signing of the Banking Act in 1933, the President has warmly supported the plan for deposit insurance, as well as amendments to the act which have assured more permanent and smoother functioning of the plan.

Predicting from the Primaries

The recent primary returns prove practically anything the political predictors want them to prove. In New York State, the victory (hotly contested) of the right wing of the American Labor Party makes Roosevelt's capture of the state's presidential vote seem probable. Congressman Fay, New Dealer, handily beat former Congressman O'Connor, who also lost in the Republican primaries. Elsewhere voting was light. Democratic voting in Wisconsin was particularly light, and a predominantly anti-New Deal slate was nominated. Besides renominating Governor Baldwin, Connecticut Republicans went academic and chose Dr. McConaughy, former head of Wesleyan University, to run for Lieutenant Governor against Professor Shepard of Trinity College, Pulitzer Prize winner for biography. Massachusetts Democrats chose Attorney General Dever to run against Governor Saltonstall. The claim of Republican campaign leaders that anti-Roosevelt Democrats would show overwhelming victories in the primaries has not been borne out to date, and many of the Democratic nominations have been solid endorsements of the New Deal. It is impossible to estimate Willkie's support among his own party by the Republican nominees, since almost without exception they paid at least lip-service to their tousle-headed boy and shouted against the third term.

Free-Speech Department—College Division

Streeter Stuart was a professor of Modern Languages at the Southeastern State College at Durant, Oklahoma. Like any good citizen anxious to have his representative represent him, he wrote a letter to his Congressman, Wilburn Cartwright, expressing opposition to war and asking him to oppose the conscription bill. Professor Stuart got a scathing reply from Mr. Cartwright, and soon afterwards a letter from Dr. T. T. Montgomery, the president of Southeastern State College. Dr. Montgomery informed him that as a result of views expressed in the letter to his Congressman, he was dismissed from his teaching job. There was no trial or hearing whatsoever. He had been fired for expressing a stand on a pending bill to his Representative.

The American Association of University Professors and the American Civil Liberties Union have taken up the case. The ACLU has consulted an attorney in Oklahoma and will take whatever legal action is available. No battle for democracy is more worth winning than to reverse such a high-handed action. Most professors may disagree with Professor Stuart's views, but they will fight to protect his right to state them.

Cooperation Marches

At its Twelfth Biennial Congress in Chicago on October 16, the Coöperative League of the USA will be able to look back on the most successful two years in its history. Total annual business is now estimated at $600,000,000, with a membership of some 2,000,000 consumers. In two years a dozen refineries, mills and factories have been set up, electric power has been extended to nearly 200,000 families, a coöperative bank has been established and extensive modernization of co-op food stores is in progress. Distribution of farm supplies continued to be the largest field of coöperative activity measured in dollar volume. FCA statistics placed the total coöperative purchasing in this field at $416,000,000 in the 1938-39 fiscal year. In grocery distribution the co-ops have competed successfully with the chain stores; in production of commercial fertilizer they have broken the artificially high prices maintained by the fertilizer interests. Advances are reported as well in coöperative insurance, medical care, education, burial associations and student coöperatives. The last-named have now an estimated membership of 100,000 on more than 160 campuses, operating dormitories, eating clubs, book stores, buying pools and credit unions.

Bad News from Labor

If what happened at the CIO state convention in Rochester, New York, is what the papers say happened, those in control of the convention have done a disservice to the labor movement, to democracy and to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign. The organizers of the convention were intent on eliminating Communist influence and endorsing the Democratic national ticket—both aims of which we heartily approve. Their manner of going about it was to exclude from the convention floor delegates from a number of CIO unions in good

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standing, including the Newspaper Guild and the United Office and Professional Workers' Union. These bodies, said the excluders, according to report, are "paper" organizations. The New Republic has a contract with a branch of the UOPWA; many in this office are members and it is no paper union as far as we are concerned. The natural result was a split, with a number of prominent unions quitting the convention and setting up a new state central body with the blessing of John L. Lewis. New York members of the Amalgamated, who participated in the convention control, should remember that it was similar tactics on the part of United Garment Workers officials which caused their own union to be born.

Honey Catches More Flies

The British propaganda leaflets dropped in Berlin recently reveal a surprising ignorance of psychology. They threaten Germans with the entire mobilized power of the British Empire, the might of the British navy, a heavier bombing of Germany than the Germans can do to England, the intervention of the United States and famine this winter. The only threats they failed to add were that German babies would be mutilated and German nuns raped. If the British were consciously attempting to bolster Hitler's claims to his people that the Germans are fighting in self-defense against a hostile world, or trying to weld the German people more strongly around a cause, they could not have done better. This new British propaganda is reminiscent of nothing so much as of German propaganda during the last war at its most heavy-handed. It has forgotten the lesson that Hitler himself learned from England. In "Mein Kampf" he states that soon after the War he became bitter against the stupidity of the German propaganda and enthusiastic over the successful British "humanitarian" propaganda fixing the war guilt on Germany. Germany has now taken over British methods, and with marked success, at least among the people at home.

Common Ground for Unity

Volume I, Number One, of Common Ground, a quarterly devoted to the cause of unity and understanding among national and racial groups in the United States, has appeared. It is published by the Common Council for American Unity on a Carnegie grant. The theme of the magazine is set by an article in the first issue entitled "This Crisis Is an Opportunity," by Louis Adamic. Mr. Adamic points out the serious repercussions the European war is having and will have on our immigrant population, and shows our social and racial conflicts as a major weakness for American democracy and a major source of strength for fascism. He claims that these tensions in the United States are what Nazism relies on, and that now we are faced with the necessity as well as the opportunity for ending them. He describes the program of the Common Council, one of coöperative action as well as education, and pleads for a similar effort throughout the land.

This first issue of Common Ground shows it to be an intelligent effort. It is a shame that its length (over 100 pages) and its fairly literate level (Robert M. Hutchins) will inevitably confine Common Ground's influence to those sections of the reading public which least need to be educated for tolerance.

News Notes of a Week

Talks proceeded between Mr. Hull and Lord Lothian, apparently on the sharing of bases in Australasia and South Africa. . . . Senator King introduced a bill calling for the dropping of the Johnson and Neutrality Acts in return for British bases in the Pacific. . . . The navy announced a trebling of its personnel. . . . Heavy bombings of British and German territory continued, with the British announcing their readiness to bomb Berlin nightly. . . . They also revealed production of a new fighter plane, "The Nighthawk." . . . Gibraltar was twice bombed by French planes, following the attack on Dakar, and the German radio announced sourly that Vichy had apologized to the British. The British, on their side, apologized to Vichy for a careless bombing of French Somaliland, which they said a flier had mistaken for Italian territory. . . . Wendell Willkie rallied the women of the nation to fight cynicism, promised to help the farmers, warmly thanked The New York Times for its support and was narrowly missed by a canteloupe, an orange and a wastebasket thrown by critics from a Detroit hotel window.

The Threat from the Axis

THE AGREEMENT between Germany and Italy on the one hand and Japan on the other to come to each other's aid if a third power should enter the war against one of the signatories is obviously intended to intimidate the United States. It is probably aimed at the Soviet Union as well, in spite of the clause safeguarding existing political arrangements with that power. But that face of the threat is, we believe, subsidiary, because Germany does not greatly fear the Russians at present. The publicity given the pact is entirely designed to make the citizens of this country watch their step lest they become involved in a world war on two fronts. Hitler is saying to us—if you go to the aid of Britain, Japan will attack you from the West. Japan is saying—if you try to prevent our expansion, Hitler and Mussolini will attack you from the East.

How real are these threats? Real enough, to be sure, so that for some months before the treaty was announced this government, anticipating the possible need for defense on both sides at once, has been plan-

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ing a two-ocean navy and a greatly enlarged army. But not real enough so that any American need fear an attempt to invade this country before we are so fully prepared to meet such an assault that no enemy would try it.

It has long been an axiom of strategy that neither Japan nor the United States could possibly carry on hostilities against the other across the broad Pacific. In order to do so, either nation would need a base, or a series of bases, much closer to the other, nearer even than Pearl Harbor or the Philippines. Even the greatest battleships are not equipped to conduct a war at such a great distance from their sources of supply. A far inferior force would suffice to repel them. On the Atlantic side, such an attack is utterly out of the question as long as the Axis is busy with Britain. And after that it is not probable before the enemy has established himself at closer hand. Our present armament is fully capable of withstanding assault on both Atlantic and Pacific coasts, so long as the enemy forces are based on the other sides of the oceans. It would take time for the partners to creep up on us by more practicable routes; it is against that endeavor and its possible success that we are preparing, and we shall have time to do so if we make haste.

All this is well known to Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese authorities. Their action is taken for its effect on minds, not as a declaration of actual and immediate intention. It has been in the wind for several years; the announcement could probably have been made at any time for months, and the present was chosen because this is a crucial moment when, if strong enough fears can be aroused in this country, our appeasers might win the upper hand and so make the path of conquest easier for the aggressors.

Fortunately the Hitler strategy is now well enough understood so that we know how to deal with it. The pattern is simple. First comes the threat of war if anyone not engaged interferes with his plans—a threat accompanied by a declaration of peaceful intentions. The prospective opponent is thus lulled into thinking he is safe if he will not oppose the current piece of a long series of piecemeal conquests. Non-interference helps Hitler to devour that morsel into which his fangs are already sunk. Next it will be the turn of the complaisant non-interferer. Meanwhile the strategy of terror has made the new victim less capable of resistance.

In this kind of struggle there is only one way to be safe. That way is to take the aggressive. A threat is a signal, not to surrender, but to press forward. Every threat must be followed, not by retreat, but by stronger action against the threatener. Neither Japan nor Germany can attack us now; therefore now is the time to weaken them and strengthen ourselves so that they can never attack us.

It is fortunate that the United States cut off the supply of scrap iron to Japan and gave new financial aid to China just before the new pact was announced. That action should now be immediately followed by another; we should embargo all shipments of oil to Japan, and give far more assistance to the Chinese. Great Britain will probably enable us to do the latter by reopening the Burma Road, over which munition shipments can be made. Closing it was one of the many mistakes of appeasement—and was followed, like all such mistakes, by more pressure from the appeased. We should also redouble our aid to Britain in resisting the Axis. And we should rush our preparations to meet the ultimate threat. If we do all these things, and more of the same kind, the threat can never be carried out. Indeed, when the effect of such threats is observed by the Fascist powers, they may think twice before making another. They should learn without delay that it is not in the tradition of this people to yield to intimidation.

Excess-Profits Sham

DURING THE SENATE'S DEBATE on the so-called excess-profits-tax bill, the measure was described as an "imponderable mess," while one of the government's tax experts observed that it penetrated "more deeply into the wilderness of incomprehensibility than we have ever taken the American taxpayer before."

The bill is only secondarily an excess-profits measure—from the point of revenue expected. According to a minority report of Senator La Follette, it will raise only $115,000,000 from excess profits in 1940—a rather negligible yield which Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Sullivan admitted was but a "drop in the bucket" in proportion to the $15,000,000,000 defense program. A somewhat larger amount—estimated by La Follette at $240,000,000—is expected from a flat tax on normal income. But this, of course, has nothing to do with excess-profits taxation or preventing the emergence of a new crop of war millionaires.

The speed with which the bill is now being pushed arises primarily from another source, the desire to offer industry special encouragement so that it will coöperate fully in the defense program. This encouragement is provided in two sections of the bill: (1) the suspension of the eight-percent profit limitation on ship and airplane contracts under the Vinson-Trammel Act and (2) permission for corporations constructing new plant facilities essential to the national defense to amortize the total cost of such plants out of tax-free earnings over a period of five years. Certainly these are tremendous concessions. The latter alone means that the government will pay, in effect, the total cost of new plant facilities for defense work, with no legal assurance of being able to get it back. This will be on the unwarranted assumption that such facilities may be valueless after the war emergency is over.

Accordingly, the only justification for this generous

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treatment of industry is the assurance that there will be no profiteering from the defense program itself. It is precisely in this respect, however, that the bill is most unsatisfactory. The desire to encourage industry apparently nullified, to a large extent, the Treasury's aim to prevent excess profits. Under the bill, corporations are given a choice as to how their excess profits are to be computed. They may be computed as the profits above the corporation's average earnings for the four years 1936-39 or as the profits in excess of an eight-percent return on invested capital. Obviously, many corporations with high earnings will choose the first method—and no matter how high a return they make on their capital they will not be affected by the bill unless their earnings exceed their previous high record. Other corporations with a low return on invested capital—such as U. S. Steel—will choose the second method and will thereby be permitted to increase their profits tremendously without being touched by the "excess profits" provisions. During the hearings on the bill, Mr. Sullivan frankly admitted that giving corporations this choice would inevitably reduce the Treasury's income "to a great extent." It will also give rise to innumerable complications in enforcement—complications that are scarcely to be invited when it is remembered that some cases arising out of excess-profits taxes during the last war are still unsettled.

The bill is also objectionable in the advantages it confers on large, prosperous companies. It will hit hardest young and growing concerns, whose earnings trend is rising normally, while as Senator La Follette has pointed out, "it confirms and entrenches those corporations which possess a monopoly and quasi-monopoly position in our economy."

Author, Author!

AN INTERESTING NEW PAMPHLET entitled "The Fifth Column in Washington" has turned up on newsstands in Washington, Philadelphia and New York. A copy was placed on every seat at the Republican Convention and sent to every member of the House and Senate. It enjoys a brisk sale at Christian Front and German-American Bund meetings.

The *real* fifth column, it appears, is an insidious band of government employees ranging from Attorney General Jackson and Harold Ickes to Armeda Taylor, charwoman in the Capitol building, all of whom are Communists or practically Communists.

The author is Joseph E. Kamp, head of the Constitutional Educational League, which publishes and distributes the booklet. While we are on the subject of distributing information, here are a few facts about Mr. Kamp. Until 1937, Kamp edited the pro-fascist magazine The Awakener. On his staff were Harold Lord Varney, fascist propagandist, and Lawrence Dennis, author of "The Coming American Fascism." When The Awakener suspended publication, Kamp wrote to a follower, "The work will be carried on by the Constitutional Educational League."

In 1937, the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee investigated the League. Mr. Kamp was unable to appear for questioning. Mr. Hanson, secretary-treasurer, turned up as substitute.

SENATOR THOMAS: I can judge quite correctly from what you say that the word "constitutional" does not have any meaning in your Constitutional Educational League.

MR. HANSON: As far as the teaching of the Constitution, not particularly.

SENATOR THOMAS: And the word "educational" has no meaning?

MR. HANSON: As far as education pertaining to the Constitution, no.

What the League *did* do, Mr. Hanson couldn't exactly say. A helpful clue is provided by the NLRB, which condemned distribution of vicious anti-labor pamphlets written by Kamp and published by the League.

Mr. Kamp was one of the sponsors of the Hotel Biltmore meeting at which General Moseley was asked to ride the white horse for an American fascist *Putsch*. Another sponsor of the meeting was Allen Zoll, who organized the Coughlin picketing of WMCA, and was later indicted for blackmail. Kamp and the Christian Front promoted a mass meeting at which Joe McWilliams, führer of the Christian Mobilizers, and John E. Kelley, speaker for the German-American Bund, were guest stars. Kamp is a close friend of Edward Lodge Curran, who writes for Social Justice and once substituted for Coughlin on the air. The Constitutional Educational League is heartily endorsed by Patrick Scanlon, editor of the Coughlinite Brooklyn Tablet, and James True, fascist news-writer.

Fifth column? What fifth column?

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Tides of Politics

FAILURE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT two basic facts about political tides makes for confusion in the voter's mind as he reads first a Republican and then a Democratic view of the present course of the American political tide. "Political tides" are not tides in the exact mathematical sense, just as "business cycles" are not really cycles with regular features. Political tides, such as they are, are often affected by the course of business.

Some scratching around in the highly uncultivated field of political statistics has unearthed factual material that may prove helpful in watching and interpreting the course of political behavior in 1940. The material in this article is not a forecast of the election. Republican readers will read into it one meaning, Democrats another; those who are neither Republicans nor Democrats, but who think of themselves as Demopublicans or Republocrats, will read into it yet a third. It is important to bear in mind that both projections of political tides and the best of polls are uncomfortably dogged by that statistical bugaboo—the probable margin of error.

Some picture of political tides in the United States may be obtained from the long-time record of the two-party vote for President. A still better record for this purpose, since it has twice as many episodes of political behavior, is the two-party vote for Representatives in the Lower House of Congress; or better still, the two-party proportions in the Lower House of Congress.[1] If we look at this record from 1854 to 1938—eighty-four years—the fluctuations in the Democratic or Republican percentage of the two-party membership in the Lower House reveal clearly the high and low points in the political tides, the different rates of rise and fall, and the importance of business conditions as a factor in terminating crests and troughs.

In the past eighty-four years we find that the Democratic Party reached a crest of dominance six times, as follows:

DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGES OF TWO-PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN CONGRESS

High		*Low*	
1856	59	1864	24
1874	63	1880	46
1882	63	1888	47
1890	72	1894	30
1912	70	1920	45
1936	79	....	..

[1] Anyone interested in this record and an attempt at a systematic analysis of presidential elections since 1896 will find it in my book on "Ballot Behavior" published by the American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Even from this simple record it is clear that the political tide is an irregular affair in human behavior. Its peaks can be anywhere from eight to twenty-two years apart, its troughs six to twenty-six years apart, and the swings from high to low may vary between 16 and 42 percent of the two-party membership.

One eminent statistician, Dr. Carl Snyder, rests his forecast of a Republican victory for 1940 on the fact that between 1936 and 1938 the congressional vote reduced the Democratic percentage from 79 to 61 and that "by-elections" in districts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa and Nebraska since 1938 indicate a continuation of this recession in the Democratic tide at the 1936-38 rate of change. My examination of these "sample" congressional elections in late 1939 and early 1940 indicates that a further analysis is needed before these episodes can be taken at face value. It has not been demonstrated that these particular samples have in the past been uniformly "barometric." We find that political behavior in the eastern districts of Pennsylvania in relation to the national trend is different from political behavior in Ohio or Iowa or Nebraska. Furthermore, the barometric significance of congressional elections in industrial districts differs from the significance in rural areas. In the Sixth District in Iowa, for example, the Democratic percentage of the vote cast for congressmen early this year showed a further decline from the 1938 figure in five rural counties, but an actual increase over the 1938 percentage in the urban county in which Des Moines is located.

A given rate of change in the position of the party in power between one election and another does not necessarily herald a similar change for the next election. The political tide is not that regular. In other words, the fact that Democrats lost 18 percent of the House membership between 1936 and 1938 does not in itself mean another decline of similar proportion in the second congressional election after the 1936 peak year.

The possibility of different rates of change is clearly indicated by what happened in the first two congressional elections following each of the five previous Democratic crests.

From the 1856 crest of 59 percent, the Democratic percentage in 1858 fell 12 percentage points and the percentage in 1860 fell another 19 percentage points. From the 1874 crest of 63 percent, the first decline in 1876 was 10 percentage points, but the next change in 1878 was a slight increase of one point.

From the 1882 crest of 63 percent the first decline in 1884 was 6 points, the second in 1886, 3 points. The first decline from the 1890 peak in 1892 was 9 points,

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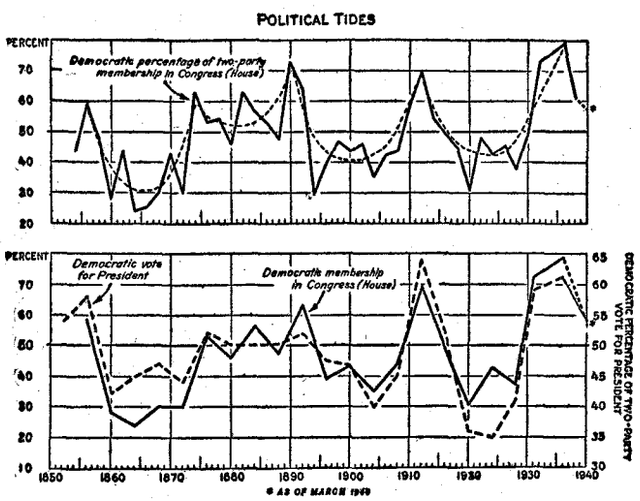
the second decline, in 1894, was 34 points. In the fifth episode, the first decline from the 1912 peak of 70 percent in 1914 was 15 points, the second in 1916 only 5 points. From the most recent peak of 1936 the decline was 18 points, and the second move, up or down, will be revealed in November.

Can we make order out of this variable experience? For one thing, we observe that with one exception each Democratic crest terminated after an onset of business depression. Just as in 1938 a letdown in business activity, that of 1937, was probably the major factor in



reducing the Democratic position in Congress, so also in 1858, in 1876 (when business failed to climb out of the depression), in 1884 and in 1914. The magnitude of the change in business is roughly related to the magnitude of the change in the political tide. The 1938 experience approximates most nearly that of 1914.

We next observe that in the second phase of the receding tides, 1860, 1878, 1886, 1894 and 1916, we had two abnormal situations that do not pertain to 1940. One was the social upheaval of 1860, the other, the major depression of 1894. In each of these two abnormal cases the Democratic Party went completely out of power. Instead of strife between the states, as in 1860, we are now witnessing a national effort toward unity for defense. Instead of a major slump in business, as in 1894, we are in the rising phase of a business cycle. In the other three cases, corresponding to 1940, the course of the tide was quite moderate, the course of business, when upward (as at present) having had apparently a sustaining influence on the downward course of the tide and on the position of the party in power. An average of these three experiences (a one-point increase in 1878, a three-point decrease in 1886, and a five-point decrease in 1916) would suggest a "normal" decline of about three points further for 1940, in which case the Democrats would have about 58 percent of the two-party membership in the Lower House.

What about the war and the third term as new factors in the present situation? All we can say about these factors in relation to the "normal" course of political tides is that the effect of the war situation may be offset by the effect of the third-term issue—in short, we really don't know.

If the "normal" course of the political tide reduces the Democratic percentage in Congress to about 58 percent from 61 in 1938 and 79 in 1936, what about the presidential election? There is a very close correspondence between the Democratic percentage of the two-party membership in Congress and the Democratic percentage of the two-party popular vote for President. In my book on "Ballot Behavior" I have demonstrated that with a Congress about 58-percent Democratic, we could have a 54 to 55 percent Democratic popular vote, and that such a popular vote would give the Democratic candidate a substantial number of electoral votes in excess of the 266 minimum required to win the election. In fact, a 55-percent popular vote for the Democratic candidate would, on the basis of recent experience, mean only nine states in the Republican column with a total of about 108 electoral votes.

This is not a forecast of the election, but merely the presentation of some material not generally available. In comparison with this conclusion that normally 1940 might be a 54 to 55-percent Democratic year, the Gallup polls during the first part of 1940 showed 54 to 55 percent in favor of the Democratic Party and (after apparently some erratic shifts in public opinion in June and July) 55 percent for Roosevelt in September. Only ten states are shown in the Republican column, with 78 electoral votes. The Elmo Roper poll for Fortune, so successful in 1936, indicated early in 1940 a Democratic sentiment higher by several points than our "normal" figure. His September poll showed 58 percent in favor of the President and 56 percent not in favor of Willkie. A 58-percent Democratic popular vote, on the basis of recent experience, would show only three states—Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire—in the Republican column.

L. H. BEAN

À la Carte

Some take to liquor, some turn to prayer,
Many prefer to dance, others to gamble, and a few
resort to gas or the gun.
(Some are lucky, and some are not.)

Name your choice, any selection from one to
twenty-five:
Music from Harlem? A Viennese waltz on the
slot-machine phonograph at Jack's Bar &
Grill? Or a Brahms Concerto over WXV?
(Many like it wild, others sweet.)

Champagne for supper, murder for breakfast,
romance for lunch and terror for tea,
This is not the first time, nor will it be the last time
the world has gone to hell.
(Some can take it, and some cannot.)

KENNETH FEARING

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Goering Over England

LATE ONE EVENING in this torrid September my phonograph was playing for me a Beethoven quartette. The *alla tedesca* movement was still unfinished when a harsh and sinister note through the open windows smashed its fragile gayety and drowned its pensive merriment. The sirens were announcing the third air raid of the day. I put out the light and surveyed the broad expanse of sky visible from my upper window in Hampstead. It was so still that I could hear an officer's words of command on a hilltop half a mile away. A few minutes later, far to the east and the south, the continuous rumble of our anti-aircraft guns had begun. Searchlights from far and near swept the sky and confused the pattern of the stars. At first they found nothing. But now in the east six of them have converged and built a pyramid of light. In the intersection of their rays I divine that a bomber has been caught, but I cannot see it. He and his comrades near him are dropping flares that shed a dazzling white light. It is a bewildering ballet of sudden radiances that blot out the timid stars. Now shells are bursting round the pyramid. Two of them explode exactly at the intersection of its beams. The towering erection suddenly dissolves; the eastern sky is dark, and I divine that a bomber has fallen.

But the raid is not yet over. From the south, sweeping gradually westward, the distant rumble of our batteries is audible again. In the west, unpleasantly near, a flare is falling and in its white incandescent glitter a landscape of roofs and chimneys is visible with a garish detail that innocent sunlight never achieves. I listen in suspense, for the dull thud of bombs. But instead of the exploding bombs I hear in quick succession two cannon shots in the far darkness of the upper air. Very gradually the ghastly illumination dies down. It has lit no ruins and I divine that one of our fighters must have got that bomber before he could throw havoc upon those illuminated roofs.

For many minutes nothing further happens. No planes are droning now. . . . As I pulled the curtains to, my ears welcomed as music a familiar and prosaic sound. From the south came the rattle of a freight train passing over the rails and the homely snort of its engine. That is peace. That is civilization. That is the work of kindly men.

This may serve as a note of one watcher's impressions during one of these now daily raids on London. But the scale and fury of these attacks increase. The last of them, on a memorable Saturday (September 7), lit up the eastern sky like an angry sunset that had missed its way. The blaze from the four stricken points round the docks was a horrifying sight as we watched it from our vantage ground in Hampstead, while the house shook and the bombers prowled above our heads. When rain came next morning to aid the fire brigade, we realized that the blaze, though serious enough, had been more local than we had supposed. But three hundred deaths among civilians in one day give some measure of the devastation. Even this little island of ours is a big target. About 800 houses during the continued raids of August were ruined beyond repair: the number is negligible when we set it against the total of 13,000,000 dwellings in this kingdom.

During that month, though I traveled fairly widely, I have only once seen a building still smoking. Two or three railway junctions on my journey had been bombed, but the work of repair was so efficient that trains ran on time again within a few hours. It is no secret that some southern air ports have suffered heavily: that had been expected, and duplicates stood ready to carry on. I visited the big industrial city in the Midlands that had endured the heaviest attacks. Even here the damage was localized in a very few spots and the factory chimneys were defiantly belching out a pall of smoke—all restrictions against which curse have been suspended. But much goes on beneath it that escapes the casual visitor. That factory which emits the blackest smoke had in fact been hit the previous night. But it carried on, though several unexploded bombs lay round it. They may be "duds," but they may have a delayed-action mechanism. Four young women volunteered to work at an essential process within fifty yards of one of them. Some of these instances of quiet bravery are noted and rewarded, but every night in a score of menaced towns the air wardens, the fire brigade and the Red Cross, all of them civilians, and many of them women, go about their work of vigilance and rescue with a steady competence and courage that veteran troops might envy.

One is not sure what is the precise purpose of these raids. If it is to intimidate, it is in vain. If it is to lower production, it has failed. At first the loss of sleep seemed serious, but even this is passing with familiarity. These German airmen have only one advantage over ours: their numbers. Their bombers had been trained to act as flying artillery which broke a path for the advancing tanks. They knew little of the technique of night flying and even less about the tactics of individual combat, for it is their habit to keep their formations rigidly. It seems probable that this more numerous but less efficient force is engaged, with disproportionate loss to its own ranks, in a campaign of attrition. It is trying to wear down the less numerous defenders who man our fighter planes and thin their numbers. But for one who fails, there are many eager recruits, for this service attracts young men of spirit.

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I spent a week of this perfect summer in the loveliest corner of Devonshire. Through the pomp of these sunlit days the serenity of its beauty turned the obscene memory of war into an incredible fable. But even here I had to watch the terror of the untutored birds, when the cruel vibrations of the warning siren sounded fom the nearest town. In the darkness across the hills we could hear the batteries that defended Plymouth. Every night, at five minutes past eleven, with Teutonic punctuality, a German bomber droned overhead. Only once did it drop its missiles within earshot. They fell on the heather of Dartmoor. Beside the neolithic dolmens and the workings when the men of the Bronze Age mined their tin, three scars deface the hillside to record the advance of civilization.

London, September H. N. BRAILSFORD

Law and Order in Norfolk

"He's HIGH YALLER, see," the young longshoreman explained, raising his voice above the blaring nickel phonograph in Norfolk's Log Cabin Restaurant, "but we don't think nothing of that.

"Come to mention it, though, he's almost light as Walter White. But we was raised with him right here in Norfolk, see. And passing wouldn't never enter his mind. But when he goes downtown to this civil-service office, they take him for ofay. And they give him this blank right away.

"One of them young ofay chicks what clerk down there, she even tries to flirt with him.

"'You be sure and come back for the exam, Mr. Wright,' she cracks. 'You'd make a fine policeman.'

"Well, Ernie is sort of surprised, see. But he don't make nothing of it. He thinks maybe our squawking for colored cops is got 'em down at last, see, and lets it go at that. He ain't got no time then to figure it out nohow; he's a shipping clerk at Sears and Roebuck."

The phonograph shifted its tune to "Tuxedo Junction," and the first few bars made conversation impossible. The muscular young fellow sipped his beer and waited for a quiet chorus. Then he went on.

"Well, Ernie is tickled pink, as I was saying. And as soon as he gets off that night, he rushes over to the Elks Home. Jerry Gilliam, our exalted ruler, is the kingpin in this cop crusade, see. And it looks like we getting somewhere at last.

"So Jerry shows us Ernie's application and outlines our next move. He picks out eight of the smartest boys we got and tells 'em to get their blanks tomorrow.

"Well, the boys is down there bright and early the next morning—and the white folks almost faint.

"'We don't give no blanks to nig—to colored people,' this same chick snaps. 'The police exam is for white males only.'

"'Oh yes you do,' one of the boys says. 'You give one to Ernie Wright. And he's just as colored as I am.'

"This chick turns green but sticks to her guns. But before the boys can reach the sidewalk, she's streaking for Mr. Borland, the secretary of the board."

He paused and took another sip of beer.

"Well, the boys come on back to the lodge and we see right away what's happened. We got to wait for Jerry, though. He's a railway mail clerk, see, and he's out of town then. But soon as he gets back, he takes it right up. Jerry is chairman of the Norfolk NAACP too. So he writes Mr. Borland.

"The civil service don't answer right away. And we think maybe they're gonna take low. But then—just two days before the exam is ready—Jerry gets this letter from Mr. Borland. It reads:

"'The Commission has reaffirmed its former policy of permitting only white males to take the examination for appointment to Norfolk's Division of Police.' And it tells Jerry that Ernie's blank is been issued 'through a misunderstanding' and is hereby nixed out.

"Well, this is what Jerry is waiting for. So he grabs this letter and hotfoots it over to Lawyer Thorogood. Both of 'em is tickled pink. They take their time and make out a good case. And then last November—a month after the exam is over—they walk into Federal Court and slap it on 'em.

"Lawyer Thorogood tells Judge Way that the board has messed with the Fourteenth Amendment. He rings in the Constitution of Virginia too. He files a list of charges a mile long. In fact, he calls the Commission everything but a child of God and says their feet stink and they don't love Jesus."

The phonograph stopped suddenly and he paused to adjust his voice to the unaccustomed silence.

"Well, the white folks is fit to be tied. But ain't nothing they can do about it. Mr. Anderson—he's the City Attorney—he ask Judge Way to throw the whole thing out; but Judge Way ain't coming. He says the case is got to be tried on its merits.

"The Commission's hotter'n a hornet, but they don't beat their gums too loud. Too many Negroes is voting in the Democratic primary now. And politicians can't afford to jump salty.

"This Alpha Fraternity had started this voting business back in '36. They fixed up a slogan about 'A Voteless People Is a Hopeless People.'

"They done carried it so far now that you can't even join a social club in Norfolk 'less you show your poll-tax receipt in front. The Elks and all of 'em put it in their by-laws." He pushed his empty beer glass aside and looked around for the waitress.

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"We got near-most 2,000 paid up and registered now," he continued. "That don't sound like much, but it's a flock of votes in Norfolk. Don't but five or six thousand vote in no one election all over, see."

The waitress picked up the empty glasses. He went on, smiling again.

"So we didn't hear much noise about this 'white supremacy' business. They tried to work it different. First some of the white folks talked to Jerry. No dice. A couple of big shots hinted to Lawyer Thorogood. He ain't coming. And then—out of a clear sky—the Sears and Roebuck people fires Ernie. He's insubordiate or something, they say.

"Well, that's our cup, see. The NAACP Redress Committee is down to the store before a cat can lick its tail. The manager's out—I think he took a powder—but we swarm all over his assistant.

"We tell him that's a helluva way for a company founded by Julius Rosenwald to act. We tell him Sears and Roebuck ain't the only store in Norfolk where colored people can spend their money. We come on like Gang Busters.

"So this assistant manager starts backtracking, see. He swears the police business ain't got nothing to do with it. He's near-most ready to talk turkey on the spot—if it don't be for a auditor guy what's there.

"This auditor guy is from the Chicago office, and he's salty as a pickled herring. He butts in at this point to say that there ain't no Negro working for Sears and Roebuck nowhere what can't be replaced in twenty-four hours. And that Ernie ain't no exception.

"Well, that got it. We don't say another word. We just slap on our hats and cut out. And ain't a member of our organizations cracked no catalogue since."

The waitress came back with the refilled glasses.

"So that's how it stood last week when this case comes up in court. The white folks is all worked up, but a lot of 'em is on our side. This Interracial Commission bunch is pulling for us, and a couple of the biggest Jews here is backing us too. They're the same ones what helped Professor Alston when he sued for equal school salaries.

"But Mr. Anderson—the City Attorney—he's fighting for the other side. And he really pulls his wig. He tells Judge Way the Fourteenth Amendment ain't got nothing to do with it. He says the suit's illegal. He swears the board's ruling is good for peace and order. Might be trouble if you had Negro cops.

"Judge Way takes it all in and don't bat a eye. But when Mr. Anderson gets through, he leans over and drops his slug.

"'The only question here,' he says, 'is whether plaintiff's rights was violated when he was barred from the examination on account of because he's colored. And I say he was.'

"The board starts squirming, but Judge Way goes on. He tells the Commission they got to give Ernie a special examination all for himself. And he warns 'em it better not be any harder than what the white boys took.

"Mr. Anderson, he don't like it, but he took it like a man. Mr. Borland don't like it neither. But Judge Way compliment everybody for being a gentleman at the trial and that's that. And next day Mr. Borland announce they ain't going to appeal the case. They ready to give Ernie his special exam right away."

The phonograph was back on "Tuxedo Junction," but the longshoreman talked above it.

"They ain't fooling us none though," he said. "We know what they got up their sleeve. The chief of police is already announced he ain't got to appoint Ernie—even if he gets on top of the list. He make each appointment from the first five names, and the sixth man moves up one place every time."

The young fellow fished in his pocket for a nickel and glanced at the index of the record machine.

"But we ain't tearing our wig about that," he concluded. "We're just keeping up our poll-tax and registration drive. By next year we plan to have 5,000 paid up. And when we reach that number, we'll either get a Negro cop or a new chief of police.

"Hell, come to mention it, we might get both."

Norfolk, Va. TED POSTON

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Washington Notes

Army Without Jobs

IN WASHINGTON, at least, the peregrinations of Mr. Weary Willkie cannot be made to seem significant. Accordingly, although the national election is only a month distant, these paragraphs will again concern the national-defense program. It is apparent that the facts of life about this program—that the air force and army won't be ready until 1941-42, that a two-ocean navy won't exist until 1945-46—have at last percolated through to the voters, and that they are uneasy and disturbed. In the last few days, Mr. Knudsen has taken to the road, and, before the Conference of Mayors and the American Legion convention, has tried to explain and justify the NDAC's seeming dilatoriness.

Should the country be alarmed? As is usually the case, the answer is yes and no. Apparently Mr. Knudsen's preparations for turning out airplanes, tanks, gunpowder —the latter won't be available for shell-loading until August or September, 1941—are remarkably efficient. The present delay, paradoxically, comes from the high development of American industrial technique. A very few inordinately skilled workers are now engaged in making jigs and dies accurate to one ten-thousandth of an inch. It is a job that has to be just so. Once these metallurgical mysteries are concluded, the NDAC promises that we shall produce complicated weapons at a faster rate than Uncle Hermann Goering's Nazi plants ever have.

From an immediate standpoint, the chief soft spot in the arms program—one that Mr. Knudsen has tactfully avoided in his speeches—is the War Department's mobilization-plan division. Before the NDAC can set to work, it must receive schedules of needed goods from the army. On a number of occasions, these schedules have been incomplete or nonexistent. A recent example is lumber for the cantonments now being rushed to completion. Until the conscription bill was well advanced towards enactment, apparently the army forgot that barracks couldn't be built from autumn scenery. Its unanticipated, belated demands temporarily convulsed lumber markets all over the country. In contrast, Admiral Moreell of the Navy's Bureau of Yards and Docks was ready with highly interesting prefabrication plans. He is now building some of the best low-cost housing yet seen in this country for shipyard workers and the navy's shore personnel. In the War Department, General Marshall and Assistant Secretary Patterson are said to be aware of the failings of mobilization-plan division, and to have promised a shake-up as soon as the conscription crisis is over.

To many New Dealers, however, what is wrong with the arms program is not its execution—you would find bugs in a program directed by archangels—but what they consider its fatally limited scope. They think that the program ought to go beyond mere procurement of armaments, and should attempt to plan for our whole economy. Here, potentially, is a great political issue. Mr. Willkie is unlikely to raise it, since his big-business backers would like to keep it buried. But, in next winter's session of Congress, it may be the chief issue before the country.

As put by the New Dealers, it runs something like this: Mr. Roosevelt has promised that the country shall be armed without sacrifices by the mass of citizens. But, if our existing industrial plant is to be called on to produce fifteen billion dollars' worth of munitions during the next year or so—and, if the Nazi threat increases, the arms schedules will be expanded—how can it also be expected to turn out the present volume of non-military goods, on which the national standard of living depends? The answer is that it can't. To maintain our living standards, we must increase the industrial plant as a whole. As the reader will recognize, this is the essential problem of wartime planning, already discussed in The New Republic's pages.

The issue is by no means academic. At the moment, the steel industry—Mr. Stettinius' own—is operating at between 92 and 93 percent of theoretical capacity. Some of this may represent forward purchasing, but not much. When, three to six months from now, armament orders begin to hit the steel plants in volume, what will happen? They cannot appreciably raise their output; their other orders will have to give way. Among many other results, it may mean that the steel needed for passenger automobiles, refrigerators and apartment houses won't be fabricated, and that, in turn, prices of already-made automobiles and refrigerators, together with certain big-city rents, will rise.

The railroads—so say New Deal critics—form another danger point. With their existing equipment, they may have difficulty in handling the traffic that will appear later this winter. Goods will pile up at terminals. Delays in the productive process mean added cost, which the consumer will pay. But a railroad breakdown of any extent would affect the consumer directly by creating temporary local shortages, particularly of food, all across the land. Shopkeepers would be enabled to add a few cents here, a few cents there, and the federal government would be powerless to discipline them.

A scarcity of consumers' goods—the New Dealers insist—may be inescapable in a country like Germany where the economic machine is apparently functioning at capacity. But it is not tolerable in the United States, with nine million workers still unemployed and nearly two millions on relief. These men and women ought to be put at jobs. By enlarging the total industrial output, armaments could be hastened and the living standard preserved. This would happen of itself if those who control capital funds would invest them. But they are not doing so. At least some business men are consciously opposed to an increase in productive facilities; they hope to make a killing from expected wartime scarcity.

This is the problem. There are some New Dealers here who think that it is the only problem worth bothering about, and that it can be solved only by government action. Last week, in these Notes, I sat down the undoubted fact that these men are not coöperating with the NDAC, and that, to some degree, their attitude is hampering the

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NDAC's program. The New Dealers retort that the NDAC's program is essentially bad, and that, before many months have passed, popular resentment at the hardships it causes will sweep it away, and Messrs. Knudsen, Stettinius and their dollar-a-year assistants with it. When that happens, they will be ready with what they believe is a genuinely democratic plan.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Business Plumps for Defense

WHEREVER I GO among business men I find them talking about national defense. I note also that they are all for it. In fact they are for it as big and as fast as possible. And they are grouchily against Mr. Roosevelt because, warlike as he is, he is not warlike enough for them.

The bankers, meeting at Atlantic City, want "the arms program prosecuted with vigor"—with economy, of course, but with vigor. And of course without taxation; and without borrowing. They are for what might be dubbed the neatest trick of the century.

The insurance men, meeting in Philadelphia, want "large sums spent for defense." "We urge," they resolute, "immediate and effective execution of a well planned and adequate defense program," and of course, they "pledge, on behalf of our entire membership, the fullest possible cooperation in that program." They are willing, it seems, to contribute almost anything but money. They are willing to coöperate by sending their sons and yours. But when it comes to the cost—they want "our monetary policy safeguarded." That is, they do not want the government to borrow any money and create any more deficits and imperil the present content of the dollar. How the government is going to do it without borrowing or taxing these gentlemen and their customers to the tune of an additional five or ten billions a year they do not say.

Out here in Detroit where I write this the business men are all wholeheartedly for national defense. Money, it seems, is no object. After all, Detroit is too close to Omaha to feel comfortable. And Omaha is one of those cities the President told us the Germans could bomb by plane from Tampico, Mexico. But, they say, national defense means we must all pull together. We must be willing to make sacrifices. We can't go on standing on the eight-hour day and the five-day week and time and a half and all that kind of peacetime luxury while the nation is in danger.

And so it goes. But the program for defense is beyond all doubt popular with business. What is more, business men assure me that it is going to take some time and that it is beyond a doubt going to produce plenty of work. They do hope it will not turn into a runaway boom. But after all there are worse things than a boom.

Even the bankers like the idea of the boom. How the boom is going to be produced without taxation and without borrowing, I do not know. But the vice-president of the great National City Bank—an economist too, by the way—told his grave and reverend colleagues that "we must not subtract from, we must add to the defense program." The program, he assured the boys, was going to produce great prosperity, was going to reduce unemployment and was going to bring into the government more taxes out of the bigger profits and income. And thus we will be able to get nearer to a balanced budget. In fact some precious nuggets of economic wisdom oozed out of the bankers.

This gentleman, for instance, said the program would increase our national income and would thus yield higher taxes to reduce the deficit, while reducing unemployment and thus cutting down government expenditures on relief. Now there is a gem of many facets. The program will not increase national income unless we pay for it with borrowed funds. But if the government borrows to pay for arms—however justified—instead of paying for relief, how is that going to cut down the deficit? Surely it will increase national income. But borrowing to pay for relief increased national income. The national income rose from around $42,000,000,000 around 1933 or 1934 to around $70,000,000,000 last year. And that was the work of government spending for recovery and relief. It also increased tax receipts. But it didn't cut down the deficit. And it never will until this eminent savant discovers some way to balance a budget by increasing borrowing.

But there is a commission of bankers, made up of a large number of eminent names, which seems to have discovered this miracle. It is simple. The program will be financed not by the government but by the banks. That is, the arms makers will borrow from the bankers. But, may we ask, how do the arms makers expect to repay the bank loans? Surely they expect the government to pay them. And where is the government going to get all these billions, save by borrowing? Certainly the bankers will be the first to howl if it is raised by taxes.

And they have another catch. Our danger is great—terrible—overwhelming. We must therefore spend billions on defense to meet the enemy when the war comes. But what of the dark moment when the war is over and our business men must go out into the world and compete for business in a trade war against the totalitarian states? Should not the government let up on business? Should not the shackles be stricken from the wrists of business so that it may go out and compete against the tremendous odds it must meet when it faces the totalitarian trader?

There seems to be a suggestion that this totalitarian trader, shackled as he is, burdened with the innumerable chains of fascism, is going to enjoy some tremendous advantage against our traders because they wear the modest and silken chains of the New Deal. Why is it that these slender strands make our business traders so weak, while Hitler's steel manacles made his traders so strong? The truth is that this bogey of the disadvantage we will suffer after the war from totalitarian methods—clumsy, uninviting, repelling to their own traders and their customers—is being invented now to get rid of those mild regulations imposed chiefly on speculators who will have little to do with this foreign trade war anyhow.

JOHN T. FLYNN

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The Bandwagon

When the order is given, men of the Home Guard were instructed to "shoot to kill," but at the same time they all are warned that any man who shoots simply "out of personal grudge" is "liable to be suspended." – *Cable from London to The New York Times.*

The Greeks understood the almost spiritual beauty of pure form, unadulterated and without compromise. Their aspiring columns achieved a serenity and strength that have not been equaled. Today, in a world attacked by disaster, we turn instinctively to that sure simplicity. . . . Helena Rubinstein symbolizes this basic impulse in a new lipstick case shaped like the broken fragment of a fluted column. – *From Harper's Bazaar.*

WANTED to buy a large bed with a romantic past and history. Our 8-foot square John Gilbert Honeymoon Bed, used exclusively for Honeymooners, is unable to take care of the demand. Give full information on merits and distinction of bed as well as price in first letter. Leo Heyn, Summit Hotel on Mount Summit, Uniontown, Pa. – *An advertisement in The Hollywood Citizen-News.*

It's a Discredit to Edit

Mr. Julian Larose Harris, the executive editor of The Chattanooga Times, and Mr. Hunt Clement Jr., his assistant, finding themselves not in accord with the editorial policy of The Chattanooga Times [which has declared for Willkie] in the presidential campaign, have been granted editorial leaves of absence at their own request. – *Signed statement by Colonel Julius Ochs Adler on editorial page of The Chattanooga Times.*

Everybody Happy?

The statement in last Saturday's issue of The Union that a "dusky" 11-pound girl was born to Mr. and Mrs. John Henry on Friday afternoon was a typographical error. The item should have read that a "husky" 11-pound girl was born.

The Union regrets this mechanical error, and gladly publishes this correction. – *From The San Diego Union.*

Forsaking All Udders

Gene Towne and Graham Baker, RKO producers, have been notified that much of Elsie's [the Borden Milk cow's] footage must be eliminated from the current "Little Men." Joseph L. Breen, the code administrator, wrote the producers this week, explaining that "that dialogue about milking is extremely dangerous." He added that shots of the process itself must be deleted. – *From The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Undeclared War

SIR: In connection with the recent Hercules powder-plant explosion, the following, from Vol. VI, p. 5527 of the Dies Committee hearings transcripts, is of interest.

A former Bund member, Neil Howard Ness, is being questioned by Rhea Whitley, counsel to the Committee:

Q. And did the Bund ever discuss what their activity would be in the event of a war between the United States and Germany?

A. Yes. We actually had plans worked out such as blowing up waterworks, munitions plants and docks.

Q. By sabotage?

A. Yes—which included blowing up the Hercules powder plant, where they make munitions.

We have recently been hearing the opinion expressed that, in view of this country's pro-British sympathies and policies we are, in fact, virtually at war with Germany at present. Draw your own conclusions.

Ridgefield, N. J. WILLIAM E. MONAGHAN

Landfalls and Departures

SIR: I don't know where those millions of us who hate war and want to stay out of this one can turn for leadership, but obviously not to your journal. You're acting just the way you did in the last war—remember? "Liberals" of your ilk have a regular and predictable cycle in times like these—first you are gently critical of those who want war, then you go all out for it, and when it is all over your stock in trade is to damn the warmongers. I've been reading The New Republic for twenty years, but when my subscription expires this time it will never be renewed.

Washington, D. C. A. C. HOFFMAN

So Ungallantly Streaming

SIR: The enclosed letter to Mr. Henry R. Luce was sent to him on August 9, but so far it has not appeared in either Time or Life magazine, although each of these magazines has printed a large advertisement containing the opinions of Mr. Archibald MacLeish, another writer, on the subject of the letter.

[ENCLOSURE]

SIR: "The Ramparts We Watch" is a cruel, criminally false piece of conniving propaganda, intended ultimately to victimize one class of American society for the security and profit of another class. The work is all the more despicable because it pretends to be an unbiased work of reality. Standard Hollywood moving pictures are frankly American fables, and are manufactured to attract a purchase of admission. "The Ramparts We Watch," on the other hand, pretends to be history and a hymn of patriotism. It is neither. The manner in which the story and continuity play upon American emotions is shabby, cheap and dangerous. As a project, the picture is full of those dishonest and treacherous technics which the picture implies are now threatening the American way of life.

"The Ramparts We Watch" is not history. It is art, but very bad art.

It is perfectly clear what the picture intends to accomplish, and it is fairly clear why. Through a sincere, mealy-mouthed politician, a number of fretful, worried editors, small business men, workers, their wives, and so on, the picture tells American people, as no other medium of communication could tell them, that Americans do not want to go to war, but that, eventually, they have no alternative, and that in the end they gladly volunteer: partly because other nice people have gone and are going;

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because mothers and sisters have come to expect it; because living is pretty boring anyway; because only one man out of twenty is killed; because there's fun in it; for freedom; for culture; for Jeanie; for Time magazine; for steel, for shoes; for wool, and for any number of other magnificent things. For romance. For sex, even.

But the people of all nations were swindled in the last war and will have been swindled in this one unless America, at least, begins looking at everything with a cold and fishy eye. Americans, at least, do not like to feel that a thing which appears to be so inevitable and heroic as war is, in reality, insincerely compelled, and for treacherous reasons.

If you and others as fortunate as yourself feel that the waging of a war is an activity involving spiritual values, if you find it possible to ask or expect others to give up what little they have so that these values may be maintained—then you in turn must not hesitate to lead the way and give up what little you have. Your properties, your annual profits, everything you have. Which is little enough for the good things that shall be saved.

If, on the other hand, you do not feel that the waging of a war involves spiritual values at all, then, as an American, you must be honest enough to tell the people very plainly that to be a soldier is a trade, like plumbing or writing; that the soldier is not paid in glory, but in ordinary money, out of the profits of those who own the most of that which is being saved. You must hire men who want to earn money by becoming soldiers. You must pay them a decent wage. You must not expect things for nothing, because you do not give things for nothing. You must keep the matter in the realm of transaction, not culture. You must not trick people into a bargain which can bring them no profit other than an illusion they might have gotten more comfortably at a movie.

San Francisco, Calif. WILLIAM SAROYAN

Primary

SIR: How I'm going to vote? Well, let me see now. Man *could* vote for—how'd that feller say it?—the tonalities of dialectics or, on the other hand, he *could* vote for, *i. e.*, the paramounts of Jeffersonian essentials. Ziggidy! Last time I ran across Postmaster Brooks I called him a tonality of progress and it plumb burned him up. But you should have seen ex-Postmaster Lem Barfront when I told him he was a big-business fascist tendency. He sizzled until I thought his celluloid collar would purely catch on fire. Getting back to your question, this is the time of year we cut tops. Besides that, nobody ever heard of Alton B. Parker, and I think Teddy did a pretty good job down there in Cuba. Always at your service.

Frog Level, N. C. OREGON SYLVANIUS MULL

What Do You Read?

SIR: In recent weeks the papers have carried many "bolt" stories. Every person of any consequence whatsoever who has announced he will support Wendell L. Willkie has had his name in the papers, often on the front page. The interesting thing about these stories is that they have shown up the unreliability and incompetence of American reporting. The most notable example will suffice. From a reading of the New York papers and the weekly news magazines one would gather that South Carolina is going Republican this year. Pictures of Dr. W. W. Ball, the cantankerous Confederate editor of The Charleston News and Courier, appeared all over the place when he announced for the Republican candidate. (It was not recalled that Dr. Ball has been fighting Roosevelt daily for seven years.) And the news that a Willkie club was being formed in South Carolina was big news, foreshadowing a real swing away from Democracy (and White Supremacy?) in South Carolina. Most probably this was just another example of an inadequate journalistic technique. According to orthodox news standards the stories were news. But along came the Gallup poll to show otherwise. The important and significant news about South Carolina is that, despite the editorials of Dr. Billy Ball, the lambasts of Cotton Ed Smith, and the opposition of business leaders who hate the New Deal, the state is still overwhelmingly Democratic. The Gallup poll says 98 percent so.

New York City C. K.

"Winchellesque" Is Bad Enough

SIR: Even in these times I preserve something of my ability to get worked up over minor matters. Among the stronger of my recent gripes is this:

One of the virtues I have attributed to the editors of The New Republic has been the ability to write in clear English without resort to copy-desk jargon or Luce language. I winced, therefore, on seeing "radiorator" in the September 2 issue.

Yours for a less Winchellesque speech.

Pittsburgh, Pa. PHILIP M. GREEN

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Robert G. Smith writes from Portland, Oregon, to say we were mistaken in believing that Senator McNary would have any influence on the vote in the Northwest. "People are far too intelligent to think a vote for Vice President counts for anything as against a vote for President," he says, and reports that while McNary is respected, the Democrats are gaining—"Oregon is for Roosevelt.". . . T. M. Lasater, who has a ranch in Texas, suggests that what we might do about the need for soldiers is what we would do if we needed bakers, namely, make soldiering a better job. Don't increase the demand by hoo-raw. Put the money on the line, he says. Or shut up. Mainly, he is for John T. Flynn, whom he describes as a man with a clear eye. (For those who do not know Mr. Flynn, we can say that he has an eye like the Montauk Light.)

Marvin Taub, of Washington, D. C., has a wrinkle that may be new enough to be dangerous. He says that should the need of it arise he is all for carrying his gun. He realizes that the original investment on his life, plus 20-percent depreciation, plus 10-percent untaxed profit, plus a natural rake-off, plus etcetera, would run into money and precious wasted time if he demanded the computation and guarantee before signing up—just as though he were an industrialist. Of course, he'd be hanged if he did; but anyway he'd be damned if he would. All he wants to have made clear is: when he gives up everything to carry his gun, will any manufacturer stop lobbying and percentaging long enough to make one for him to carry?

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Books in Review

From the Finland Station

"TO THE FINLAND STATION"[1] took at least six years in the writing and is based on a plan that may have been conceived as early as 1932. That was the year when Edmund Wilson published "The American Jitters," an account of what he had seen during the second year of the depression. In the course of his travels he had been impressed by the way in which American business was confirming the predictions made by Karl Marx. He was hoping to see this country and the whole world "fairly and sensibly run as Russia is now run, instead of by shabby politicians in the interests of acquisitive manufacturers, business men and bankers." The Russian revolution seemed to him the climax of modern times; and he determined then or shortly afterwards to study the historical theory on which it had been planned and executed.

As he continued working with the idea, it assumed a more definite form. His new book would study the development of historical thinking as a guide to political action. It would begin in 1824, at the moment when Michelet, the great historian of the French revolution, discovered the neglected writings of Vico, who had been the first to say that "the social world is certainly the work of men." From this marriage of revolution and sociology, there was born a new tradition in historical writing, and Wilson planned to follow it through its period of greatness to its decay in the writings of Anatole France. Next he would study a second tradition, that of the utopian socialists, from Babeuf and Saint-Simon to the Oneida Community. Getting to the heart of his subject, he would tell the story and expound the ideas of Marx and Engels; and finally he would explain how Lenin prepared himself intellectually and morally for the Marxist revolution. The moment of Lenin's arrival at the Finland Station, in Petrograd, would be the moment when the writing of history passed over into the acting of history.

The plan was harder to execute and required more extensive reading than Wilson had anticipated. Michelet's "Histoire de France" was only one of a thousand books he had to digest, yet it consists of twenty-seven volumes. The collected works of Marx and Engels are even bulkier, besides requiring closer attention; and the general literature of Marxism, including the quarrels among disciples, is as endless and complicated as the Peloponnesian War. Moreover, Wilson did not confine himself to studying French and English texts. He spent six months in Russia, nearly dying there of scarlet fever; he studied Russian and German in order to read the great Marxists in the original. Always he was finding new sources or revising chapters already written; it seemed that the book would never be completed. Had it been published in 1936 as originally planned, it would have been not only a scholarly study but also a call to action. In 1940 it appears in a different context as a purely historical work, solidly planned, solidly documented, solidly and often brilliantly written.

Perhaps its principal weakness is a defect in structure that goes back to a defect in theory. Michelet plays much too large a part in this book whose destination is the Finland Station. From reading the table of contents, one would assume that it deals with three authors who are in a direct line of succession, and that Marx is based on Michelet in the same fashion that Lenin is based on Marx. No such claim is made in the text; and the truth seems to be that Marx and Lenin would have written the same books and performed the same deeds if Michelet had never lived. The real line of succession runs back from Marx to Hegel, who was most certainly the man responsible for the conception of history as an organic development. That was the conception at the heart of Marx's thinking, as it was later at the heart of Lenin's; yet Hegel receives only passing mention in a book that devotes five chapters to Michelet, a chapter each to Renan, Taine, France, Lassalle, Bakunin, and two chapters to Trotsky.

But the neglect of Hegel does not end with the failure to discuss his ideas at any length or to acknowledge that they helped to shape the historical movement that is the subject of Wilson's book. When Hegel does appear he is presented as a stuffy wizard living in a cloudland far from reality yet exercising a baleful influence on Marx. It was from Hegel that Marx borrowed the idea of thesis, antithesis and synthesis; and this, Wilson says, was "simply the old Trinity, taken over from the Christian theology, as the Christians had taken it over from Plato." In other words, Hegel diverted Marx from science into supernaturalism; and the result of his influence was that the whole Marxian theory of historical or dialectical materialism became "a religious myth, disencumbered of divine personality and tied up with the history of mankind"—a myth that differed from Christianity only by lacking the sense of sin and by situating heaven in the future.

This version of the dialectic, apparently derived from a book by Max Eastman, is one that Marx and Engels would have violently rejected. When Engels in his old age was asked for an explanation of historical materialism, he advised people "to study the theory from its original sources and not at second hand. It is really much easier. Marx hardly wrote a thing in which this theory does not play a part. 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon' is an especially remarkable example of its application." Curiously enough, Wilson shares this admiration for "The Eighteenth Brumaire" and indeed for Marx's historical writing in general, saying that it is "a product of his mature genius at its most brilliant" and "in fact one of the great cardinal productions of the modern art-science of history." We are left to assume either that Marx, usually so perspicacious, deceived himself about his use of the dialectic in "The Eighteenth Brumaire" or else that the modern art-science of history is based on a theological myth.

[1] To the Finland Station: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History, by Edmund Wilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 509 pages. $4.

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But the real answer is of course more complicated. The Marxian dialectic does indeed have the mythical side that Wilson presents as its only side; its promise of a future heaven is deceptive. As applied to the natural sciences, it is only a metaphor. But for statesmen and journalists dealing with contemporary problems, it offers a rough working diagram of the fashion in which political situations actually develop—that is, by the growth of contradictions and by "jumps" into new situations that are qualitatively different. The rise of German fascism is an excellent example, though it is one that contemporary Marxists are glad to avoid. Moreover, on the theoretical level, the dialectic is a means of viewing history in motion instead of at rest; as a process instead of a structure; and as a totality composed of interrelated parts no one of which can be understood without reference to the others. In this broader sense, which Wilson fails to consider, it is at the basis of modern historical thinking, even among the anti-Marxists.

His book has other weaknesses that might be mentioned. For example, it neglects the English economists who preceded Marx, just as it neglects the German metaphysicians. Considering that it is a book dealing with revolutionary leaders, it pays too little attention to the revolutionary masses, by whom the leaders were sometimes led. But these faults are relatively unimportant because they do not interfere with Wilson's real achievement, which lies in a different field from that of economic theory or revolutionary practice.

Essentially it consists in approaching the communist leaders from a new point of view. In one place he observes that "Marx and Engels have been inadequately appreciated as writers" and that there has been a boycott against them "on the part of literary historians as well as on the part of economists." He might have added that Marx and Engels have rarely been written about in good prose: almost always they have been approached in terms of adulation or abuse and—by their followers at least—in a language so purely abstract that it transforms the people with whom it deals into pure theories (Trotskyism, Kautskyism, Machism) and so dogmatic that the unbaptized reader feels as if he had wandered into a secret meeting of the Early Christian Brothers. Wilson is neither abstract nor dogmatic and he does not belong to any sect. He is, I believe, the first to write about Marx and the Marxists in an extraordinarily clear and easy-running style, English rather than Latin and distinguished by its use of the sharp detail and the absolutely right quotation. The result is that he has removed the communist fathers from the realm of dogma and carried them into his own world of letters; he has stripped them of the pedantries that covered them as thickly as Marx's whiskers and has revealed them as remarkable men who never ceased to be human beings.

Part of his originality consists in approaching their work with the same critical equipment that he formerly applied to Proust and Eliot. The longest and to me the most successful chapter in the book is the one in which he considers "Das Kapital" as a work of art and Marx himself as a "poet of commodities," driven like other poets by selfless aspirations and obscure grudges. Another fine passage deals with Marx's early poems and still another with Lenin as a prose writer. But besides being a critic, Wilson is also a novelist, a dramatist and a poet. He has the novelist's gift for revealing personality in action, the dramatist's gift for bringing characters into conflict, the poet's gift for finding concrete symbols to express abstract ideas and complicated psychological states; and yet he does not give the impression of being specialized in any of these fields. In reality he is something one rarely finds in this country, a generalized man of letters.

Like André Gide, who is also a man of letters and whose later style often makes me think of Wilson, he has a profound respect for moral values that goes back to Protestant ancestors. The quality in Marx that affects him most deeply is "the serenity of moral ascendancy" that appears in his later photographs—"with the deep eyes and the broad brow, the handsome beard and mane, now whitening, that bend from the defiance of the rebel into the authority of the Biblical patriarch." In Lenin he admires "the sure dignity of the respected headmaster who deals directly and frankly with his charges, yet who stands on a higher ground and always preserves a certain distance between him and them." But Lenin himself, Wilson says, was only the greatest of the great Russian revolutionaries, all of whom were trained in a school of repression that developed both intellect and character:

> Forced to pledge for their convictions their careers and their lives, brought by the movement into contact with all classes of people, driven to settle in foreign countries whose languages they readily mastered and whose customs they curiously studied with a quick and realistic observation, compelled by long sojourns in prison to accommodate themselves to the criminal outlaw and therefore to understand him, while the months or the years of confinement in the solitude of the Peter-Paul Fortress or the gloom of the Arctic Circle have imposed upon them the leisure to read and to write—these men and women combine an unusual range of culture with an unusual range of social experience and, stripped of so many of the trimmings with which human beings have swathed themselves, have, in surviving, kept the sense of those things that are vital to human life.

One could quote page after page from the book without exhausting the good things in it. Yet one feels in reading even the best passages that they would not only have produced a stronger effect but would in themselves have been stronger and sharper if they had been written at some other time. "To the Finland Station" has suffered from the misfortune that threatens any detailed and scholarly treatment of a world issue: the world changed while the scholar was busy among his books. In 1940 Lenin's arrival at the Finland Station has no longer quite the same meaning; part of the drama has gone out of it, and the name of Finland suggests not so much a glorious revolution as a war for railheads and naval bases in which Lenin's heirs tried to copy the heirs of Bismarck.

Wilson himself, changing with the world, has partly lost faith in his own theme. Eight years ago he had written that "Karl Marx's predictions are in process of coming true," but now he is not so certain, and his statement of 1940 is curiously involved and restricted. "What Marx and Engels were getting at, however, was something which, though it may sometimes be played off the stage by the myth of the Dialectic and though an insistence on the problems it raises may seem to reduce it to disintegration, came nevertheless in its day as a point of revolutionary im-

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portance and which may still be accepted as partly valid in our own."—"However . . . though . . . and though . . . nevertheless . . . may still be accepted as partly valid"—this is an affirmation so feeble, so undecided in style and content, that it carries the force of a negation. And the same doubts are present throughout the book, so that many of the solidly written pages give the impression of dealing with something in which the author has ceased to be interested.

"To the Finland Station" is not a book that Wilson would undertake to write in 1940. The question that probably concerns him today, and certainly concerns the rest of us, is not the evolution of communism up to Lenin but its devolution in the writings and acts of his successors. How was it that the almost selfless revolutionaries of Lenin's day were transformed into (or executed and replaced by) the present Soviet and Comintern officials, the timid and inefficient bureaucrats, the ferocious pedants, the finaglers, the fanatics and the party hacks? They all started out bravely, full of the highest intentions, warned by the mistakes of the past; yet they have made errors far worse than those they condemned in Kautsky or Plekhanov, and the result of their unremitting efforts has been to create a world very different from the one they planned. Where did the original weakness lie—in Lenin, in Marx himself, or in the application of Marx's and Lenin's theories by people who lacked their singleness of purpose and their genius? The book we should like to read today is one that would try to answer these questions. It might be called, "From the Finland Station." MALCOLM COWLEY

They Don't Just Fish

Troubled Waters, by Roger Vercel. New York: Random House. 245 pages. $2.50.

THIS IS partly the story of a French trawler working men's hearts out for cod in the Iceland waters, but mostly a father-mother-son relationship which would hardly make a good short story. The son hates his mother for playing around while her captain is at sea, so to get away he goes on a cruise he doesn't like, with his father, whom he apparently doesn't like either. While they are out disliking each other and the fish, the wireless brings news of the mother's death and there are sobs, blows and a shipwreck. You are kept in the dark about most of this most of the time, to some extent deliberately and to some extent because of the inconsonant lunges of character, reversals of mood and unlikely reveries which amount to just plain lack of command over the story and people in it.

The technical stuff is good. As a complete action-picture of the preparation, the haul, the catch, the bringing-aboard, sorting, gutting, salting, trying-out—complete with all the reasons and the chances and the commands and the terrific work and pride in skill—all this goes up beside the technical stuff of Melville and Hemingway. But while Vercel is often profound in manner and never more so than when hinting at something that turns out not to have been there, in the simpler and essential profundities of love and fear and duty, the show moves with jerks and creakings.

This is abetted by a translation which misses the feeling of language, so that a sauce moving in its tureen with the ship's motion is said to "wobble"; and a hard-pressed mate blowing up on his captain is made to say—a mate, a veteran seaman mind you—"Still, let me tell you, I'd rather go on as things were during the first few days, when I had everything on my shoulders. At least, like that you know you can't count on anybody but yourself." So if you want to know how to trawl for cod and how the bleak grandeur of Iceland looks, this is a good book, intermittently. If you want to know who does the looking and trawling and what it amounts to, you're wasting your time. OTIS FERGUSON

The Eagles They Fly High

Airpower, by Major Al Williams. New York: Coward-McCann. 418 pages. $3.50.

WHEN MAJOR WILLIAMS is discussing such matters as fixed-pitch versus controllable-pitch propellors, his writing is clear and forthright, and you sense the assurance of a man who knows his business and enjoys talking about it. When he talks of engines, especially British and German types; of the strange, acrobatic German plane called the "Stork" and of such purely technical matters as the fuel-injection system to replace carburetors, his book is absorbing even to the casual reader. But Williams spends very little time on what he knows best. He has axes to grind and grudges to settle and can't seem to forget them for much above a page at a time. What is even harder on the reader is that Williams strains to be a Writer at just such times as he gets farthest from the things he really knows, with the result that he uses about every cliché and solecism known to the trade.

He tells his version of airpower's growth with the animus of a persecuted fanatic who is at last able to shout, "I told you so!" For Williams was one of that group of airmen (Douhet in Italy, Udet in Germany and General "Billy" Mitchell in this country were others) that foresaw the coming role of airpower many years ago and insisted on a program of offensive and defensive preparation. In Germany, Italy and Russia the prophets got their gospel across, with results that must by now impress even retired admirals. In this country, as in England and France, army and navy opposition not only blocked the full development of aviation but succeeded for a long time in making it merely an auxiliary arm. So this book, to a large extent, is airpower thumbing its nose at the generals and admirals.

But Williams has a grudge that goes even deeper than his resentment against those who scoffed at airpower. It might most accurately be described as hatred for economic democracy in action. There are whole pages in this book that might have been taken from Social Justice or used interchangeably with Joe McWilliams' harangues to fill out a night of Roosevelt-baiting in Yorkville. This is the Lindbergh line, but without the subtle variations—it goes beyond appeasement; it is reaction blending naturally into fascism. It surges hysterically, as in the attacks on Roosevelt, the Spanish Loyalists and the French Popular Front. Or it emerges from between the lines in praise for the fascists that at times seems almost unconscious. Thus, Italian fliers who lazily bombed Ethiopian villages are called heroes, but the natives who punished grounded aviators are fiends. He can become incensed over Russian

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bombings in Finland, then coolly discuss Nazi and Italian insistence on mass civilian raids under the heading of research. In the same vein he regards the fascist troops in Spain as crusaders in a fine cause, the International Brigades as the "hoodlum strata" of the earth. Naturally Blum is blamed for France's weakness, though England's failure to arm is charged to mere stupidity, and government-owned aircraft plants in Germany are warmly admired. And what troubles him most is that we in the United States "are drifting toward government by the bleachers," *i.e.*, the people. For this and for the world's unrest, however, Williams has a sweeping cure-all. He proposes that America participate in a "wholesale attack" on Russia to stamp out communism.

Generally, his admiration for the German and Italian way of doing things is apparent. In Germany he found himself "assuming a military posture," and although he admits that he had hardly a moment away from his duties, he expresses approval of life under the Nazis. He speaks of the Horst Wessel Lied as "stirring and haunting," "born of the . . . spirit of National rebirth." Mussolini and the "iron hand" come in for praise, too. No wonder his Fascist host in Italy could say at parting, "We think the same thoughts."

MAX GISSEN

Man in White

A Surgeon's Autobiography, by Hugh Young. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 554 pages. $5.

DR. HUGH YOUNG is a world-famous surgeon who for many years was head of the James Buchanan Brady Urological Institute in Baltimore, created by a grateful patient, Diamond Jim Brady. His book is an odd mixture of a technical medical tract about diseases of the genito-urinary region and the story of his life. Dr. Young is obviously one of those vigorous, intelligent and charming men who are marked for success from the beginning of a career. The great people of the whole world have journeyed to Baltimore to put their lives into his hands or have summoned him to castles and palaces in a dozen countries to rescue them from impending death. Among his distinguished patients were President Wilson, Quézon of the Philippines, Ambassador Francis and other notables numerous enough to fill a Hall of Fame.

Some of the most interesting and dramatic chapters have to do with Dr. Young's experiences in France. To him goes the lion's share of the credit for the rigid prophylactic measures by which venereal disease in the AEF was kept down to negligible proportions—actually less than 20 percent of what it had been in the army at home. Medical gossip is always fascinating to a layman; Dr. Young is full of it. I recommend particularly the story of Lady X—— (p. 275); the cocotte hired to cook a dinner (p. 299); the overconfident German who got shot in a peaceful area (p. 356); the capture of General MacArthur (p. 375); the insane officer who cut the red tape (p. 293); the fate of the French women in occupied territory who lived with the Germans (p. 372); and the extraordinary service performed by the nurses in the reconstruction hospital (p. 287). Dr. Young is a great surgeon; his book shows him also to be a forthright and attractive personality.

B. B.

A Reader's List

FATHER WAS AN EDITOR, by Joshua K. Bolles (Norton, $2.50). Charming anecdotes of the home life of Joshua K. Bolles, editor of The New Milford Gazette, in a period of transition. Full of anecdotes, some of them funny, with juicy sidelights on character and local customs of the period. The material bubbles spontaneously out of the author's memory.

MAGISTRATES' COURT, by Henry H. Curran (Scribner's, $2). Now chief magistrate of New York City, the author looks back to his sessions in the minor courts, feeling that their day-by-day routine reveals the essence of the metropolis, its diversity and fundamental tolerance. A likable, rather slight but well told book of anecdotes.

FICTION

FOUNDATION STONE, by Lella Warren (Knopf, $3). Another novel about the Old South—Alabama from 1820 through the Civil War—but one that stresses pioneering hardships instead of hoop skirts and magnolia trees. The set-up is not unfamiliar—a strong, beautiful woman, a dashing husband, trouble with too many children; the writing has force and real distinction. If you're looking for epics, here is one that's definitely way above par.

MELANIE, by Gina Kaus (Modern Age, $2.50). A psychological novel of a young man's mental sufferings under the influence of a highly neurotic woman. A bit forced, but full of suspense; entertaining rather than deep.

DUCKS IN THUNDER, by Jay Dratler (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2). A daring young American saves the girl of his anti-Nazi Austrian friend from the clutches of the Vienna Gestapo, escapes with her melodramatically to Paris through a Hollywood turmoil of danger, and falls in love with her. Written in the tough fashion.

FAREWELL, MY LOVELY, by Raymond Chandler (Knopf, $2). By the author of "The Big Sleep," which was a fast, tough detective story with excellent dialogue and a screwy plot. This new one is faster and tougher and the plot is better too. Mr. Chandler is a neat craftsman and writes like a breeze. A good time will be had by all.

Contributors

L. H. BEAN is an economist in the United States Department of Agriculture. His official interest is agricultural programs and the interrelation between agriculture and business. As a spare-time interest, he has been cultivating the field of political statistics and has just published some of his results in "Ballot Behavior," a study of presidential elections.

KENNETH FEARING is the author of three books of poems, "Angel Arms," "Poems" and "Dead Reckoning." His collected verse is being published by Random House on October 4 and will include a group of twenty new poems under the title of "The Agency."

H. N. BRAILSFORD's latest book, just published by Whittlesey House, is "From England to America," a discussion of the United States and the war.

TED POSTON, formerly city editor of The Amsterdam News, is a reporter on The New York Post.

MAX GISSEN was formerly on the staff of the New York State Training School and editor of Teachers' Guide. He recently completed a survey of American aircraft-manufacturing companies.

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The New
REPUBLIC

Special Section

Voters' Handbook

What They Promise

The Minor Parties

The Candidates

Where the GOP Has Won

Senators and Representatives

Who Will Win?

The Real Issues

What They Did in Congress

OCTOBER 7, 1940

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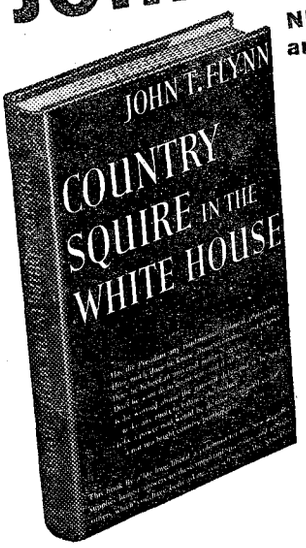

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Voters' Handbook

A Special Section

What They Promise

This digest of the major party platforms is by no means intended as a controlling guide for the voter. Platforms are political promises and most voters are shrewd enough to agree with the young man on the Republican publicity staff who told us, "The platforms don't mean a damn thing." This year as in the past the platforms are essentially vote-catchers carefully designed to antagonize as few people as possible while articulating the known hopes of the majority. Nevertheless, there are several qualifying points which seem worth mentioning:

1. Since the Democrats have been in power for eight years, their promises cannot stray too far from the level of past performance. In fact, the gap is much narrower than it has been in many years. 2. Many of the promises, especially in the Republican platform, are mutually contradictory and could not possibly be carried out even if attempted. 3. Read in their entireties, the two documents present a sharp contrast in their approach to American problems as a whole. The Republicans, in their planks on internal affairs, do little except to plump for a return to laissez-faire. The Democrats recognize the need for a new set of answers if democracy is to survive. Their platform is informed with the gravity of the present crisis and develops a philosophy to meet it which at least indicates understanding and some sincerity of purpose. – THE EDITORS

National Defense

Democratic. – Demands sufficient military strength to discourage attack by any possible combination of hostile powers and to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. Promises an "invincible air force," a mechanized army, a navy that can protect our coasts and "our national interests," and the industrial mobilization necessary to achieve these objectives.

Republican. – Pledges defenses capable of protecting the nation, its possessions, its essential outposts and the Monroe Doctrine. Supports "all necessary and proper measures" developed by the present administration.

Foreign Policy

Democratic. – Repudiates foreign wars and the use of our armed forces beyond the Americas except "in case of attack." Would continue the good-neighbor policy and economic coöperation with Latin America, stimulate foreign trade through "desirable" agreements and give material aid consistent with law and our own defense needs to victims of aggressor nations.

Republican. – Opposes American involvement in foreign wars, condemns executive activities that might lead to war without the approval of Congress and favors aid compatible with international law to nations "fighting for liberty." Rejects reciprocal trade agreements and promises to regain our export markets while providing tariff protection for agriculture and industry.

Unemployment and Relief

Democratic. – Accepts the obligation of government to provide work for the needy jobless and promises job-training programs for youth and the technologically unemployed. Favors continuation of employment exchanges and suggests a national unemployment conference. Rejects administration of relief by state and local authorities as a return to the dole.

Republican. – Stands on the principle that encouragement of free enterprise and the removal of "administrative restrictions" on business will automatically lead to absorption of the jobless by private industry. Pledges the elimination of "waste, discrimination and politics from relief" through a system of federal grants-in-aid administered by the several states.

Social Security

Democratic. – Assures steady extension of the Social Security Act to cover groups not now protected. Favors larger and more uniform benefits in all categories and a minimum pension for those unemployed who reach the retirement age.

Republican. – Wants "necessary" old-age benefits put on a pay-as-you-go basis, extension of unemployment insurance to groups not now covered "wherever practicable" and administration of the program by the states.

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Labor

Democratic. – Strongly defends the right of labor to bargain collectively. Cites the wages-and-hours law, the outlawing of child labor and prevailing wage rates for workers on government contracts. Pledges itself to continue these gains and the principles of the National Labor Relations Act and to achieve equal rights for women in industry.

Republican. – "The Republican Party has always protected the American worker." Supports the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, proposes that differences be ironed out "directly and voluntarily across the table" and asks amendment of the National Labor Relations Act in the interests of "freedom" and "orderliness."

Agriculture

Democratic. – Points to the doubling of farm income since 1932, reduction of the farm debt, curtailment of foreclosures and the rural-electrification program. Pledges the continuance of parity and soil-conservation payments, production control, refinancing of farm debts at low interest rates, commodity loans to maintain the ever-normal granary, extension of the food and cotton-stamp plans, encouragement of farmer-owned coöperatives, retirement of submarginal lands and a program to put every tenant farmer on his own farm.

Republican. – Promises increased consumer buying power for agricultural products at profit-prices through stimulation of business and industry. "Until this balance has been attained," proposes benefit payments based on a soil-conservation program designed, chiefly, to aid the small farmer. Also supports commodity loans, government refinancing, farm coöperatives, government management of surpluses and retirement of submarginal lands. Guarantees present benefit payments until "our program becomes operative."

Money and Banking

Democratic. – Calls the dollar the "most stable and sought-after currency in the world." Recommends the end of tax-exempt privileges for future federal, state and local bonds and the continued insurance of bank accounts.

Republican. – Urgues congressional repudiation of the President's authority to manipulate the currency and pledges the return of gold to circulation. Promises repeal of the Thomas "Inflation" Amendment of 1933 and the foreign provisions of the Silver Purchase Act of 1934.

Civil Liberties and Fifth-Column Activities

Democratic. – Guarantees the maintenance of all civil liberties, especially during the period of preparation for defense; recommends legislation to give radio the same protection from censorship as that now enjoyed by the press; denounces and promises to combat un-American agencies and all groups seeking to create racial, religious or class hatred and promises to defend Negro rights.

Republican. – Promises to rid the nation of fifth-column groups and recommends the deportation of undesirable aliens who advocate changes in the government by force. Proposes an equal-rights amendment to the Constitution, legislation to curb mob violence against Negroes and freedom from censorship for radio.

Regulation of Business

Democratic. – Extends friendship to "legitimate" business but frankly proposes to continue administration attacks on bad utility practices and monopolies. Favors the enactment of legislation to protect small businesses; strict regulation of insurance companies by the states; and close government supervision of stock and commodity exchanges.

Republican. – Favors more freedom for business while promising enforcement of the anti-trust laws, encouragement of small business through the removal of government regulation and the end of government competition. Supports regulation of stock and commodity exchanges but wants a fuller measure of "self-control" for them.

Low-Cost Housing

Democratic. – Points to the administration's accomplishments in this field and promises not only to increase its slum-clearance and low-cost-housing activities in large cities but to extend them to small towns and rural areas as well.

Republican. – No mention. The platform's insistence on cessation of government competition with private enterprise and the confinement of government activity to "essential public services" strongly implies opposition to federal slum-clearance and low-cost housing.

Electric Power

Democratic. – Militantly defends the right of the people, through their government, to own and operate their own power sites for the production of low-cost electricity. Condemns the exploitation of consumers and investors by the utilities.

Republican. – No mention.

Health

Democratic. – Recognizes the need of government assistance in developing public-health facilities and promises to provide hospitals and health centers in coöperation with local and state governments and private agencies.

Republican. – No mention.

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The Democratic Candidates

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, the best loved and the best hated American of his generation, was born in Hyde Park, New York, January 30, 1882, of a family of substantial means but not of great wealth by today's standards. He is a member of the eighth American generation of the Roosevelts, seven of them having lived in the vicinity of the family estate, "Krum Elbow." Mr. Roosevelt studied at an exclusive private school, Groton, and at Harvard and Columbia Law School. He practised law in New York for several years and served three years in the New York State Senate, resigning to take the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson administration. In 1920 he was defeated for Vice President on the ticket headed by Governor Cox of Ohio.

In August, 1921, he was stricken with infantile paralysis after a swim in the icy waters near his summer home at Campobello, New Brunswick. He made a remarkable recovery, although practically paralyzed from the waist down. He was aided in doing so by exercises in a pool, at Warm Springs, Georgia, where he has since maintained a home, and where he has been the moving spirit in the Warm Springs Foundation, which has been of great value to many victims of poliomyelitis, most of them children. Although at first he walked with difficulty on crutches, for some years now he has moved about freely with the aid of canes and an iron brace. Journalists who have accompanied him on transcontinental journeys pay tribute to his inexhaustible vitality.

From 1924 to 1933 Mr. Roosevelt was, nominally at least, engaged in law practice in New York. In 1928 he was elected Governor of New York and was re-elected in 1930. In 1932 he was chosen President over Mr. Hoover by a vote of 22,821,857 to 15,761,841. In 1936 he was overwhelmingly reëlected by 27,476,673 to 16,679,583 over Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas.

During his first term Mr. Roosevelt encountered little real opposition in either House of Congress. During his second term, however, his opponents were bolder and more numerous, especially after the mid-term election in 1938, which saw a substantial increase in the Republican strength in the House. The first serious uprising against his authority came on the proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court and to make other changes in the administration of the federal judiciary.

Mr. Roosevelt was married shortly after leaving Harvard, in 1905, and has five children. It could easily be argued that his wife is only second to himself in universal fame, and since she is admired by many persons who strongly disapprove of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, some observers believe she is the most popular individual in the country. She is an indefatigable traveler, lecturer, daily columnist and radio speaker.

The President was an Overseer of Harvard for six years, beginning in 1918, and has been a trustee of Vassar, St. Stephen's College and Cornell. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, a Mason and an Episcopalian.

Henry A. Wallace

Henry Agard Wallace, Democratic candidate for Vice President, was born in Adair County, Iowa, October 7, 1888. He was the son of Henry C. Wallace, editor and owner of the widely known Midwestern agricultural paper, Wallace's Farmer, published in Des Moines, who was himself Secretary of Agriculture under Harding and Coolidge. Henry A. Wallace took a Bachelor of Science degree at Iowa State College in 1910, and entered the parental business as associate editor of the paper. In 1924 he became editor and held that position until he became Secretary of Agriculture in President Roosevelt's Cabinet in 1933. He was married in 1914 and has three children. He is the author of a number of books on agricultural subjects and is probably the only political candidate in America ever to have published a volume in the field of "Correlation and Machine Calculation." Since he has been in office, six books by him have been published, some of them based upon speeches.

Mr. Wallace is an unusual type among candidates for high political office in the United States. He is a scholar and scientist, with no trace of the demagogue about him and a shy personality which does not prevent his inspiring deep devotion among those closely associated with him. He is a genuine expert in the fields of animal and plant genetics, especially cattle and corn. He is a well grounded agricultural economist with an especially clear understanding of the problem in terms of international trade. His book, "America Must Choose," is a classic statement of the dilemma of a country that wants agricultural exports but is reluctant to accept industrial imports.

Mr. Wallace is an indefatigable worker whose chief recreation is struggling with a difficult treatise on monetary theory. He is an expert at throwing the Australian

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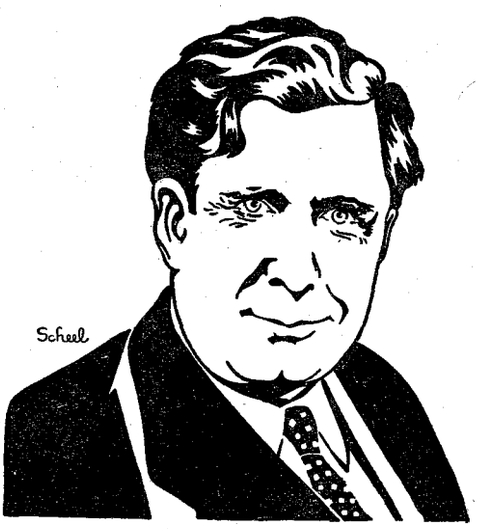
boomerang and has persuaded a few of his colleagues in Washington to take up the hobby.

Reports have been widely circulated that Mr. Roosevelt, if reëlected, might eventually resign in Mr. Wallace's favor. We have no confirmation of these stories and consider the idea inherently improbable. If it were carried out, however, the United States would be safe in the hands of a man of scrupulous integrity, keen intelligence and a considerable degree of courage.

The Republican Candidates

WENDELL L. WILLKIE was born February 18, 1892, in Elwood, Indiana, a typical small Middle Western city, of predominantly German stock. He studied at the University of Indiana, at Bloomington, and after being graduated decided to enter the legal profession and took an LL.B. degree. He enlisted in the infantry on the day war broke out, and rose to be a captain before returning to America in 1919. He became a member of the law staff of the Firestone Tire Company in Akron, Ohio, but left a few months later to practise law in Akron with the firm of Mather and Nesbitt. His firm did a good deal of work for public utilities, and Mr. Willkie soon attracted the attention of important utility executives, such as Mr. B. C. Cobb of Penn-Ohio and Commonwealth Power. As early as 1926 Mr. Cobb is supposed to have written his famous letter saying, in effect, Don't let that young man get away from us.



During the period of his life in Akron, Mr. Willkie was in contact with public-utility spokesmen engaged in such activities as fighting the famous Walsh resolution which led eventually to the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the utility industry. One of the leaders of this group was Mr. B. F. Weadock, and in 1929 Mr. Weadock invited Mr. Willkie to come to New York and join a law firm with him to act as general counsel for the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation. If the firm had any other clients, nobody seems to have heard of them. In January, 1933, Mr. Willkie was made president of Commonwealth and Southern.

Wendell Willkie was married just before sailing for France in the middle of January, 1918, to Miss Edith Wilk, an Indiana small-town librarian. They have one son. Willkie's early political affiliations were with the Democratic Party and he shared in its activities both in Ohio and in New York City. He broke with the Democratic organization only in 1936. In Akron he was considered enough of a liberal to have gained the nickname "the Akron Bill Borah," a title which may have been suggested by his long and shaggy hair.

Just when Mr. Willkie decided in his own mind that he was running for the Republican nomination, it is impossible to say. For about a year before the Philadelphia convention, however, he spent a good deal of his time making speeches and writing magazine articles on the subject of his general philosophy. Such articles appeared in The New Republic, The Atlantic Monthly and The Saturday Evening Post. The story of how his candidacy was promoted by Oren Root Jr., a young Wall Street lawyer, who put classified advertisements in newspapers all over the country, is too familiar to need to be repeated here.

Charles L. McNary

Charles L. McNary, Republican candidate for Vice President, was born on a farm near Salem, Oregon, June 12, 1874. He studied at Stanford University for several years and also with private tutors. He has been married twice, in 1902 and in 1923.

Senator McNary was admitted to the bar in 1898 and practised until 1913, when he was made a Justice of the Oregon Supreme Court. He was on the bench for two years, and for an equal length of time thereafter he served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. In 1917 he was appointed to the United States Senate to fill out the term of Senator Harry Lane, who had died. His services were sufficiently satisfactory to the people of Oregon so that he has been reëlected four times, his present term expiring in 1942. His Oregon home is a farm at Salem. He is a Baptist, and a member of the Masons, Oddfellows and Elks. His only recreation, so far as the public records show, is working about his ranch home in the intervals between congressional sessions in Washington.

Throughout his public career Senator McNary has been a member of the progressive group in the Republican Party. His views on the question of public power, which is of great importance in Oregon, with its rich potential hydro-electric resources, are the opposite of those held by his Republican running mate, Wendell Willkie. Mr. McNary has always strongly supported publicly owned power and he played an important part in encouraging the Bonneville and Grand Coulee projects.

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The Minor Parties

The Socialist Party

THE PRESENT SOCIALIST PARTY was formed in 1899 by the merger of a group split off from the Socialist Labor Party with the Social Democratic Party of Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger. In the presidential elections of 1900, the Socialist Party polled almost 100,000 votes for Debs, and made a steady gain in strength until 1920, when Debs got nearly a million votes. In 1919, a substantial group split off over the question of affiliation with the Third International, and formed the nucleus of the Communist Party. The Socialist Party reached its low for a national election since then in the election of 1928, when it polled about a quarter of a million votes. The depression brought back much of its strength, until it lost votes through another split in 1936, the defection of a group of Old Guard leaders in New York State to the Social Democratic Federation, as well as through the widespread support of the New Deal by labor. Since 1900 the Socialist Party has had sporadic local successes.

In this election, the Socialist Party stands for immediate socialization of large sections of basic industry, and opposition to dictatorship, war and preparations for war. The rest of the Socialist program includes the defense and extension of such New Deal gains as social security, legalized collective bargaining, farm benefits and civil liberties for minorities. This fall, the Socialist Party has the support of the Independent Committee for Thomas and Krueger, composed of men of other parties and political beliefs who support the Socialist candidates and platform.

Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, has been his party's standard-bearer since the election of 1928. He is a former clergyman who has been a member of the Socialist Party since 1917, and has a record of opposition to the last war and many struggles on behalf of free speech and civil liberties. Maynard Krueger, the Socialist candidate for Vice President, is a former Missouri farm boy now teaching economics at the University of Chicago. He has been active in the organization of teachers into trade unions.

The Communist Party

THE COMMUNIST PARTY was formed in 1919, when a large part of the Socialist Party, led by C. E. Ruthenberg, split off and united with a group of ex-members of the IWW to form a party committed to supporting the revolutionary government in Russia and affiliating with the Third International. The party was much weakened by the post-war "Red raids" of Attorney General Palmer and was forced into underground activity. In 1922 it emerged into the open, having acquired some trade-union support. It grew in strength over the next ten years, and in 1932 its presidential candidate, William Z. Foster, polled more than 100,000 votes. In 1936 this declined to 80,000. The Communist Party has survived a number of splits, the most important of them the defection of a group of supporters of Leon Trotsky, who afterwards joined the Socialist Party and later formed their own group, the Socialist Workers' Party. A number of supporters of Jay Lovestone formed their own group, the Communist Party Opposition (now the Independent Labor League) as a result of a split over the doctrine of whether the United States was an exception to the "general laws of capitalist decline." Before the Soviet-German pact the Communist Party was reputed to have more than 70,000 members, but loss of support since the pact may have reduced this figure.

The Communist Party platform centers around militant opposition to participation in "the imperialist war." It opposes war preparations, imperialist policy of the United States in Latin America, and militarization. The Communist program also includes the protection and extension of civil liberties, equal rights for the Negro, jobs and security for workers, farmers and youth, the formation of a national Farmer-Labor Party and the eventual abolition of capitalism.

Earl Browder is the Communist candidate for President. He has been active in labor and farmers' cooperative movements, and was imprisoned during the last war for "conspiracy" to violate the draft law. He is now under sentence of four years on a passport technicality, and although still free while his case is on appeal before the Supreme Court, has been forbidden to leave the jurisdiction of the court to campaign in the West. James W. Ford, a Negro, is the vice-presidential candidate. A former industrial worker, he has organized labor and Negro groups and served in the last war.

The Prohibition Party

THE PROHIBITION PARTY is the oldest of the present minority parties in the United States, and has survived both the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1920 and its repeal in 1933. Unlike the other minority parties, which have almost perpetual candidates, it has changed its presidential candidate every four years, with one exception. The party averaged about a quarter of a million votes in every national election until 1920, just after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, when its vote dropped. Its support continued to fall off until 1932, when it regained enough strength

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for its candidate to poll 81,000 votes. The repeal of prohibition once again crippled the party, and in the 1936 elections it received fewer than 38,000 votes.

In the 1940 campaign, the Prohibition Party is the only national party emphasizing the importance of personal morality in its platform. It stands for the abolition of the liquor traffic, indecent publications, the block booking of debasing motion pictures, and political graft. It proposes a program of economic reform, including the reduction of debt and taxation and the provision of proper aid to worthy youth and aged, as well as education for a spiritual awakening. The platform of the Prohibition Party does not emphasize the need for prohibition of the liquor traffic as much as in former years, but continues to point out what it believes is a yearly loss in the national income due to the liquor traffic.

Roger W. Babson is the presidential candidate of the Prohibition Party. He is the author of a number of books and a syndicated newspaper column of business advice. He was formerly a Republican. Edgar V. Moorman is the Prohibition candidate for Vice President. He is president of a large concern manufacturing stock foods and farm supplies and is an active layman in the Methodist Church. He was formerly a Democrat.

The Socialist Labor Party

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY is the oldest of the American working-class parties. It was founded in 1876 and reorganized on a "scientific" basis by Daniel De Leon in 1890. It has participated in every presidential election since 1892, and in the election of 1924 its candidate polled nearly 39,000 votes, a high which has since fallen off to less than 13,000 in 1936. The Socialist Labor Party has never affiliated with any International. It has lost members to all the other radical parties, the Socialist Party having been formed by a split in its ranks. However, it has been more inflexible in its stand than any other political party, and today its program is almost exactly what it was in Daniel De Leon's day.

The platform of the Socialist Labor Party is the abolition of capitalism and the organization of the workers into Socialist Industrial Unions. All present trade-union organizations, all other parties, all effort against war and for the amelioration of social and economic inequality are branded a delusion, in that they turn the working class to thoughts of mending, rather than immediately ending, capitalism. The Socialist Labor Party opposes all such "agencies of capitalism," and advocates the immediate, but peaceful, overthrow of the system.

The presidential candidate of the Socialist Labor Party is John W. Aiken. He has been a hardwood finisher and an officer in the Painters' Union, and was a sergeant in the army during the last war. He was a candidate for office on the Socialist Labor ticket a number of times, both in state and national elections. Aaron M. Orange, the Socialist Labor vice-presidential candidate, has been a school teacher in New York City since 1926. He is widely known as a lecturer on Marxian socialism, and is the author of a treatise on the economic basis of education.

What They Did in Congress

THE VOTES taken in Congress during Mr. Roosevelt's second term show the Republican Party standing implacably against New Deal reforms. Only with farm-appropriation measures, and certain pork-barrel bills, did the Republicans mitigate their opposition. In these instances, their professed horror of New Deal extravagance comically gave way before their individual anxiety to be reëlected. Since last May's Battle of France, they have supported all army and navy appropriations. But before that, as Democratic campaign speakers are now pointing out, they largely opposed defense preparations.

The record of the last four years also shows a considerable minority of Democrats firmly against Mr. Roosevelt. A distinction must be made, however, between the coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans in the Congress elected in 1936, and that in the Congress elected in 1938. In the 1936 (Seventy-fifth) Congress, the Republicans had only eighty-nine members, and their high command was demoralized. The motivating force in the anti-New Deal alliance was the reactionary Democrats, not the Republicans. But in the 1938 (Seventy-sixth) Congress, the Republican strength rose to 170, and, in Mr. Joseph W. ("Pepper") Martin, the Republicans have found a leader who has imposed a discipline as complete as that of Uncle Joe Cannon. For the New Deal's legislative defeats of the last two years, consequently, the Republicans bear the chief responsibility.

A political party's votes in favor of, or against, major legislation fairly reveal its social attitude. However, the reader should be cautioned that these votes do not tell the whole story. Many important reforms receive a knife in the heart, or a pillow over the face, in committees of the House or Senate, or by hostile amendments during parliamentary debate. One of the most far-reaching measures ever proposed by the New Deal, for example, was the so-called Seven TVA's bill, envisaging planning authorities, similar to the TVA, for the principal regions of the country. This measure

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was effectively murdered without a Republican, or reactionary Democratic, voice being recorded against it.

The 1937 session of Congress, held immediately after the tremendous Democratic triumph at the polls in November, 1936, was overshadowed throughout its course by Mr. Roosevelt's proposal to enlarge and reorganize the Supreme Court. By agreement between Senate and House leaders, the parliamentary fight took place in the Senate, and lasted from February, 1937, until the following August, when the bill was recommitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee.

ON KILLING THE SUPREME COURT BILL

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	16	0
Democrats	53	18

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 1; No, 1. Progressive: No, 1.

Perhaps the most significant New Deal reform of this session was the Wagner-Steagall bill, establishing the United States Housing Authority and permitting it to construct low-cost, subsidized housing on a large scale.

SENATE VOTE ON LOW-COST HOUSING

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	6	8
Democrats	55	8

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 2. Progressive: Yes, 1.

HOUSE VOTE ON LOW-COST HOUSING

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	24	47
Democrats	238	38

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 5. Progressive: Yes, 8.

In 1937, Congress—and the nation—was in an extravagantly anti-war, let-Europe-stew-in-its-own-juice mood that resulted in the Neutrality Act. The measure was drastically rewritten in committee and in debate, and, in its final form, represented not Mr. Roosevelt's views, but those of the congressional peace bloc.

SENATE VOTE ON NEUTRALITY

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	13	5
Democrats	63	1

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 1.

HOUSE VOTE ON NEUTRALITY

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	83	8
Democrats	289	3

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 3; No, 2. Progressives: Yes, 8.

The degree of support that Republicans gave to the New Deal farm program can be illustrated by the vote at this session on the Jones-Bankhead Farm Tenancy Act, a measure marking an almost revolutionary forward step in the government's treatment of the dispossessed and penniless farmer.

HOUSE VOTE ON FARM TENANCY

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	45	18
Democrats	252	8

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 3. Progressive: Yes, 9.

During the 1937 session, three major reform bills were silently stifled. One was the Seven TVA's, already mentioned; the other two were the wages-and-hours bill, which was locked in the House Rules Committee, and a proposal for basic governmental reorganization, on the major part of which no legislative action was taken.

The Seven TVA's remained irrevocably buried, but wages-and-hours and reorganization bills returned to be the chief subjects of legislative controversy in the 1938 congressional session. In the House, the wages-and-hours bill caused a long, extremely bitter struggle. The then vigorous liberal bloc, together with Labor's Non-Partisan League, deserves a large amount of credit for the successful outcome.

HOUSE VOTE ON WAGES-AND-HOURS ACT

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	45	42
Democrats	255	56

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 5. Progressive: Yes, 8.

The reorganization bill encountered a fierce storm of telegrams and letters whipped up by Father Coughlin and other Roosevelt-haters, and was unexpectedly defeated in the House. Similar proposals had been recommended by every President since Taft, and the Republican opposition on the ground that the bill made Roosevelt a "dictator" was an example of partisan politics at its worst.

SENATE VOTE ON REORGANIZATION

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	0	14
Democrats	47	26

Farmer-Labor: No, 2. Progressive: Yes, 1. Ind. Repub.: Yes, 1.

HOUSE VOTE FOR KILLING REORGANIZATION

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	88	0
Democrats	108	191

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 2; No, 2. Progressive: Yes, 6; No, 2.

The 1938 session saw the beginning of the present defense preparations with the Vinson-Trammell bill, authorizing an increase of 20 percent in the size of the navy.

SENATE VOTE ON INCREASING NAVY

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	7	10
Democrats	49	17

Farmer-Labor: No, 2. Progressive: No, 1. Ind. Repub., No, 1.

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HOUSE VOTE ON INCREASING NAVY

	Yes	No
Republicans	29	56
Democrats	261	31

Farmer-Labor: No, 5. Progressive: Yes, 1; No, 7.

A legislative oddity of the 1938 session was the House vote on the Ludlow constitutional amendment. In its original form, this proposal would have required a national plebiscite before the country could go to war. The vote was taken on a motion to bring it to the floor for debate.

HOUSE VOTE ON LUDLOW AMENDMENT

	Yes	No
Republicans	63	17
Democrats	115	192

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 5. Progressive: Yes, 8.

The 1939 session came immediately after the November, 1938, election, in which the Republican strength in the House nearly doubled, reaching 170. In the same election, Mr. Roosevelt's drive to purge the Democratic Senators who had voted against his Supreme Court reorganization plan had met with dismal failure. Greatly encouraged, the conservative Republican-Democratic coalition embarked on a wholesale attack upon the New Deal. Mr. Roosevelt asked for a supplementary WPA appropriation; the coalition reduced it by $150,000,000. In the House, members tried to hide themselves in the anonymity of a teller vote. Labor's Non-Partisan League stationed observers in the House galleries in an effort to identify the 435 Representatives as they passed the tellers' desks. Their roster of members voting to restore the cut is accurate; a few of those voting against restoring the cut were not identified.

SENATE VOTE ON RESTORING WPA CUT

	Yes	No
Republicans	2	20
Democrats	41	26

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 1; No, 1. Progressive: Yes, 1. Ind. Repub.: Yes, 1.

LNPL TABULATION OF HOUSE VOTE ON RESTORING WPA CUT

	Yes	No
Republicans	6	159
Democrats	127	172

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 1. Progressive: Yes, 2. American Labor: Yes, 1.

The decisive New Deal fight of the 1939 session came over the so-called spending-lending measure, an administration plan to rescue the country from the economic slump that then seemed impending. It passed the Senate, but was butchered by amendments in the House and finally defeated.

SENATE VOTE ON SPENDING-LENDING

	Yes	No
Republicans	2	17
Democrats	47	28

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 1. Progressive: Yes, 1. Ind. Repub.: Yes, 1.

HOUSE VOTE ON SPENDING-LENDING

	Yes	No
Republicans	9	146
Democrats	163	47

Progressive: Yes, 2. American Labor: Yes, 1.

Two highly political votes occurred in the House during the 1939 session on the Hatch Act, to forbid political activity by government workers, and the Townsend old-age-pension plan. Both were attempts by the Republicans to embarrass the administration.

HOUSE VOTE ON HATCH ACT

	Yes	No
Republicans	157	0
Democrats	83	133

Progressive: Yes, 2. American Labor: No, 1.

HOUSE VOTE ON TOWNSEND PLAN

	Yes	No
Republicans	55	107
Democrats	40	194

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 1. Progressive: Yes, 1. American Labor: No, 1.

Four weeks after the 1939 Congress adjourned, the Second World War burst out, and Mr. Roosevelt summoned a special session to revise the Neutrality Act so that munitions could more readily be furnished to the Allies. The chief Republican Senators attempted a spiritless and unsuccessful filibuster.

SENATE VOTE ON NEUTRALITY REVISION

	Yes	No
Republicans	6	14
Democrats	48	7

Farmer-Labor: No, 2. Progressive: No, 1. Ind. Repub.: Yes, 1.

HOUSE VOTE ON NEUTRALITY REVISION

	Yes	No
Republicans	19	141
Democrats	222	29

Farmer-Labor: Yes, 1. Progressive: No, 2. American Labor: Yes, 1.

In the 1940 session, now just ending, the administration offered no important reform measure, and the session's first four months were marked principally by half-hearted Republican attempts to cut the New Deal appropriation bills. These economy moves virtually collapsed on the issue of farm parity payments. With the Battle of France in May, the administration submitted a series of huge defense appropriations that were generally supported by the Republicans. In the House, on several occasions the sole dissenting vote

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was cast by the American Labor Party member, Mr. Marcantonio. The chief party difference came over the conscription bill, which, although introduced by a dissident Democrat and a Republican, was adopted as an administration measure.

SENATE VOTE ON CONSCRIPTION

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	8	10
Democrats	50	17

Farmer-Labor: No, 2. Progressive: No, 1. Ind. Repub.: No, 1.

HOUSE VOTE ON CONSCRIPTION

	Yes	*No*
Republicans	51	112
Democrats	211	33

Farmer-Labor: No, 1. Progressive: No, 2. American Labor: No, 1.

Where the Republicans Have Won

NOW AS IN 1936 the pressure of public opinion has forced the Republican candidate and the party's strategists to support the more popular features of the New Deal. To many voters, therefore, it may seem that a Republican victory would not seriously endanger the important advances in social legislation of the past eight years. Holders of such a belief obviously accept the promises of Mr. Willkie, and his party platform, at their face value. But it happens that we have a much more realistic base from which to gauge future performance if the Republicans win. It is the record of the Republican Party in those states where they succeeded Democratic or other liberal administrations. To those who say that Mr. Willkie cannot be held responsible for his party's acts in the several states where it is in power, the answer is that the emphasis of Mr. Willkie and the Republican platform on diminution of federal authority and the return of power to the states makes an analysis of the Republican record in the states especially pertinent. For if the power to deal with new and pressing problems were renounced by a Republican national administration, the legislative programs of the states would assume vastly increased importance.

To make winning campaigns for governorships and other state offices in the fall of 1938, the Republicans found it necessary to give convincing lip-service to many measures and ideas which they had previously opposed. Among these, in order of immediate importance, were adequate relief; increased old-age-pension payments; legislation favorable to labor; effective aid to farmers; relief for small property owners faced with foreclosure; taxation based on ability to pay and civil-service reform. The Republicans not only lined up firmly on the side of increased social services; they pledged to carry out their expansive promises while balancing the several state budgets and reducing taxes. Aided by a national swing toward Republicanism in 1938, they won fourteen states from Democratic and liberal predecessors (in addition to three others in which they succeeded themselves) in spite of the fact that their past records sharply refuted their claim to a new-found social conscience. Working with representative examples, let us see how their promises squared with actual results. (In a few states, such as Connecticut and Rhode Island, a somewhat better record may be found.)

First to feel the effects of Republicanism in action were those on relief. In the name of budget balancing, relief appropriations were cut to the point where new levels of hardship and even hunger were the order of the day in many communities. The terrible crisis in Ohio, which became a national scandal and eliminated Governor Bricker from the presidential scene, is an aggravated but not untypical example. Bricker boasted in New York that he would finish his first year $10,000,000 ahead of his Democratic predecessor. A breakdown of his budget reveals that he was trying to make the grade in the time-honored Republican way. By cutting the relief budget below minimum subsistence levels and reducing promised state contributions to communities by 12½ percent, Bricker did save Ohio close to $10,000,000—on paper; but by the time he got through, people on relief in Cleveland were living on cornmeal and dried apples.

In Pennsylvania the James administration appropriated $120,000,000 for relief for two years, which just halved the previous relief figure. The result was a $130,000,000 relief deficit by May of this year. In Michigan the pet scheme of the Republicans was made law and control of welfare problems was returned to local authorities. Followed by trimmed relief budgets, this move brought about recurring relief crises which are still unsolved. In Wisconsin the oldest trick of all was pulled out of the bag when Governor Heil's legislature passed a relief bill but provided no revenue feature. Minnesota, under its "wonder-boy" Governor Stassen, has reduced relief appropriations to the point where many of the local governments are faced with bankruptcy. In one county alone the state contribution for direct relief was reduced by half at a time when relief expenditures were the largest in its history. In addition, aid may be withheld from any community whose relief standards exceed those set by the state and relief may be refused to any person if he declines work which would make him a strikebreaker. On the whole it may fairly be said that Republican state administra-

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tions showed a consistent disregard for the needs of those on relief. Without conceding the Democrats a corner on humanitarianism, it is a fact that they can show a much more acceptable record in the handling of the relief problem.

Having welched on their promises to those most desperately in need, the "liberal" Republicans ran true to form all the way down the line. Categorical pledges to raise old-age-pension payments were forgotten as soon as the tallies were completed. Instead, Minnesota passed a law that required pensioners who owned homesteads to give the state a lien on the property, this as a means of cutting down recipients. Wisconsin's Governor Heil signed a bill to raise the state's maximum monthly pension from $30 to $40, but vetoed the section appropriating the money to pay for the increase. He followed this with inheritance-tax exemptions for large estates and the refusal to continue a $1,500,000 utility tax, thus removing the source of funds necessary to meet even the normal pension payments to new applicants. In other related fields these administrations quickly demonstrated how they really proposed to balance their budgets. State institutions, many of them already understaffed and poorly equipped, received further budget slashes. In Ohio, Governor Bricker turned the $2,500,000 problem of care for the insane back to the cities and towns. To be sure, the state "owes" the money, but the hard-pressed communities are faced with an immediate burden whose only purpose seems to be another step toward balancing the Bricker budget—at least on paper. Promises to aid and extend education were forgotten as quickly as the others. Minnesota's Stassen in particular had promised reforms that were badly needed; no steps have been taken to introduce them. The University of Wisconsin had its budget slashed nearly $1,000,000 although its enrolment is just short of the all-time high. Other cuts resulted in lowering salaries that were already below any decent standard. And, naturally, such projects as Governor Stassen's solemnly pledged youth program have been forgotten by even the most naïve.

The appearance of a number of experienced labor leaders on the Willkie bandwagon lends interest to the Republican labor record in the several states. In the states already mentioned, the previous administrations had patterned their labor legislation after that of the federal government. On the whole, the worker had little to gain from the promise that Republican leadership would bring him a "square deal," but such promises as "a job for every man who wants one" evidently made a powerful appeal. This is what labor actually got:

In Minnesota: a law requiring notice before a strike or lockout can be called, which has the practical effect of reducing the strike's value to the employees. The right to picket has been hedged about with so many restrictions that picketing becomes largely useless when it is not actually forbidden. A previous act which prohibited the issuance of injunctions during labor disputes was repealed and a state labor-relations bill similar to the National Labor Relations Act was defeated by the Republican legislature.

In Wisconsin: an Employment Peace Act which forbids strikes by less than a majority of the employees involved; makes "stranger picketing" illegal and requires the approval of 75 percent of the employees for a closed-shop contract. Other anti-labor measures, backed by Heil and the chambers of commerce, literally destroyed Wisconsin's excellent labor code.

In Oregon: a labor law so repressive that workers have lost most of the ground gained in the past twenty-five years.

In Michigan: the carefully built machinery for settling labor differences set up by Governor Murphy has been whittled down until long-drawn-out strikes are again becoming the rule.

In Pennsylvania: the state labor-relations act, patterned after the NLRA, was immediately made ineffective. Employers' privileges were increased at the expense of labor's rights and Governor James gave his hand-picked secretary of labor veto power over board decisions. The number of industrial inspectors was practically halved and the compensation laws were weakened to the level of the most backward states in the Union. The resulting high incidence of industrial accidents and the meager compensation allowed brought a sharp protest from the ultra-conservative Pennsylvania Medical Association.

In the Republican states generally: a constant attack on existing legislation favorable to labor that in two years has worn away many of the gains made during the past eight. The Republican promises to labor were cynically ignored as soon as the votes were counted, if indeed they were not knowingly false at the outset.

The farmers fared no better. Wisconsin's agency for the granting of farm loans and the prevention of foreclosures was discontinued although Wisconsin ranks second in farms mortgaged. The laws passed by the La Follette administration to help develop farm markets and provide rural electrification were both repealed. In Minnesota, taxes on rural-electrification lines were actually reduced, but the private utilities were immediately compensated by a drop in assessed valuation to five percent of their true value. Despite the fact that the farmer's vote made most of the Republican victories possible, agriculture has cashed in least of all on the liberal campaign promises.

A favorite GOP campaign pledge in all the states had to do with a more just and efficient civil service. Once in power, the Republicans not only dropped all thought of improvements; they proceeded to turn the reservoirs of state jobs into grab bags for spoilsmen. In one state employees may now be dismissed without right of appeal. Several administrations, notably in Ohio, Michigan and Minnesota, slashed salaries in the lower brackets while well paid jobs were created for

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political creditors. In Michigan especially the shameless gutting of the model civil-service law enacted under Governor Murphy has led to serious graft and the revival of bossism. It is in Michigan, also, under holier-than-thou Governor Dickinson, that the nation's most open gambling and racketeering began to flourish with the return of the Republicans to power. Today scores of Republican office-holders are on trial, including the former Mayor of Detroit and numerous law-enforcement officials. Here, at least, the Republicans have not even been capable of providing clean government.

The irony in all these failures to carry out solemn and specific pledges lies in the fact that they did not lead to the all-important balanced budget in any of the larger states. Boasts of efficient "business administrations" have long since been swallowed in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. In the latter especially, a high-powered business man has demonstrated that governments and large private enterprises pose somewhat different problems. But all of these states prove one point: not even the Republicans can give more relief, larger pension payments, better labor laws, help to farmers, lower taxes—and a balanced budget too.

The Congressional Contest

IT HAS OFTEN BEEN SAID that the Supreme Court, by its uninterruptedly hostile decisions, deprived Mr. Roosevelt of his first term. Similarly, it can be argued that a reactionary alliance of Republicans and Democrats has largely frustrated Mr. Roosevelt's second four years. Next November, one-third of the Senate seats, and all of the seats in the House, must be filled. To anyone who wants Mr. Roosevelt's program to succeed, it is important that men and women be chosen for Congress who will uphold New Deal policies.

The Senate.—Four conspicuous New Deal Senators will face the voters this year: Messrs. James M. Mead of New York, Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania, Robert M. La Follette Jr. of Wisconsin and Sherman ("Shay") Minton of Indiana. Mr. Mead is young, aggressive; like his brother New Yorker, Senator Wagner, he has worked closely with the leaders of organized labor. Mr. Guffey, admittedly a machine boss, was nevertheless the first Senator publicly to endorse the third term, in August, 1939. He is Mr. John L. Lewis' chief political ally, and has an unbroken New Deal voting record.

Mr. La Follette's great services to liberalism—his civil-liberties investigation, in particular—need no praise. It is feared that he has a difficult fight before him. In the recent Wisconsin primary, the Republican vote outnumbered the Progressive vote by two to one. Since the Wisconsin Democratic leaders are arrayed against a third term for Mr. Roosevelt, it is doubtful if Mr. La Follette will receive help from the state Democratic organization. Mr. Minton, who is assistant majority whip of the Senate, will also have a difficult contest, since Indiana is one of the few states that Mr. Willkie is expected to carry. The term of a fifth New Deal stalwart, Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach of Washington, expires with the present Congress, but he has accepted a federal district judgeship and will not seek reëlection.

Among the anti-Roosevelt group in the Senate, three men have already been beaten in the Democratic primaries of their respective states: Senators Edward R. Burke of Nebraska, Rush Holt of West Virginia and William H. King of Utah. Messrs. Burke and Holt have led repeated assaults on the National Labor Relations Board, and their defeat is a welcome New Deal victory. Two other Roosevelt opponents are candidates this year: Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, strategist of the Supreme Court reorganization fight, and Senator Harry F. Byrd, spokesman of the Senate economy bloc. Mr. Wheeler, however, deserves reëlection as an outstanding independent liberal.

In the remaining Senate group that will stand for reëlection in November, Mr. Joseph C. O'Mahoney has generally supported the New Deal, and has made an excellent chairman of the TNEC. Nevertheless, he was the author of the scathing majority report on the Supreme Court reorganization bill. Mr. Harry S. Truman, once the henchman of Boss Pendergast, has also voted for many New Deal measures, but, in the recent Missouri primary, he allied himself with Senator Bennett C. Clark's group against the White House favorite, Governor Lloyd C. Stark. Mr. George L. Radcliffe of Maryland, once Mr. Roosevelt's boss in the indemnity-insurance business, supported his senatorial colleague, Mr. Millard E. Tydings, in the 1938 purge. Senators Theodore F. ("The Man") Bilbo of Mississippi, Tom Connally of Texas, Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, Key Pittman of Nevada and David I. Walsh of Massachusetts have taken the conservative side of nearly all issues. In this year's senatorial campaign in New Jersey, Mr. James H. R. Cromwell professes to run as Mr. Roosevelt's personal friend. It is true that, a few months ago, Mr. Roosevelt made him minister to Canada; nevertheless, he is as much Mayor Hague's candidate as Mr. Roosevelt's.

The House.—The election of New Dealers to the House is, if anything, more necessary than their election to the Senate. The rigid committee system of the

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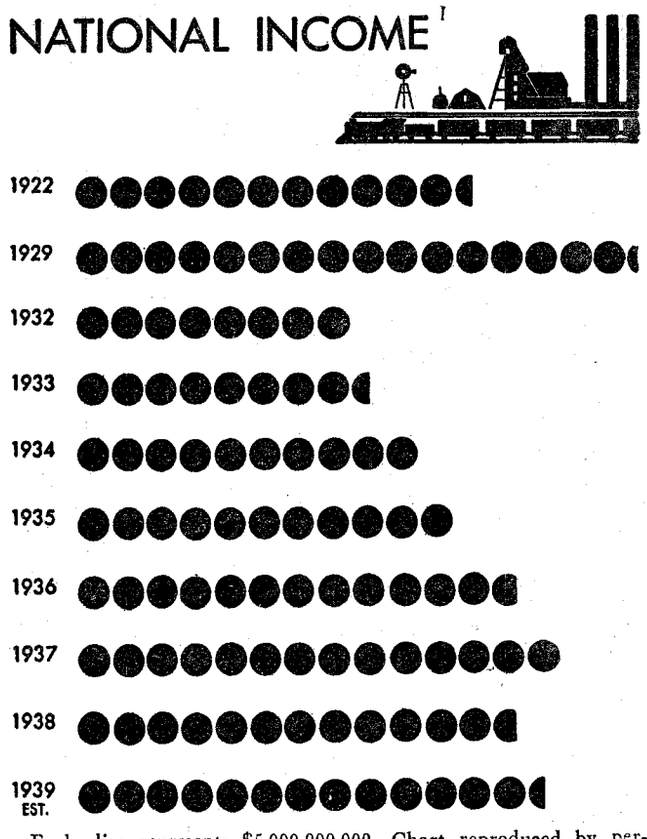
House handicaps the New Dealers, requiring them to have proportionately greater voting strength. Then, too, the reactionary sweep that coincided with the 1938 election affected the House membership more seriously than it did that of the Senate. During the preceding six years, the members of the so-called Liberal bloc of the House—although lacking in committee chairmanships—had painfully acquired considerable influence. But, in the 1938 blizzard, the Liberal bloc's two leaders, Representatives Maury Maverick and Jerry Boileau, and more than half its membership were lost. In the present Congress, Mr. John M. Coffee of Washington has acted as spokesman for the Liberal bloc's survivors.

Although not well known beyond the Capitol, the New Deal's most valuable leaders in the House are probably Representatives James A. Gavagan of New York, Michael J. Bradley of Pennsylvania and Raymond S. McKeough of Illinois. They are the unofficial captains of their respective state delegations; the fifty or sixty votes that they are usually able to deliver form the solid core of the New Deal's legislative strength. Mr. James H. Fay of New York is another important big-city member. He has been closely associated with the White House advisers, and has occasionally been their spokesman. In 1938, Mr. Fay defeated Mr. John J. O'Connor, who, as Rules Committee chairman, blocked the wages-and-hours bill for nearly two years.

Perhaps the most militant group of New Dealers in the House are those on the Labor Committee. Since 1938, they have valiantly repelled innumerable attempts to weaken the National Labor Relations Act. The Labor Committee, incidentally, is the only one in the House on which the New Dealers have a trustworthy majority. Its New Deal members are: Mrs. Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, the chairman, Robert Ramspeck of Georgia, Kent E. Keller of Illinois, Matthew A. Dunn of Pennsylvania, Reuben T. Wood of Missouri, Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. of Maryland, Frank W. Fries of Illinois, Lawrence J. Connery of Massachusetts. Messrs. Keller, Dunn and Fries are former "mavericks," or participants in the Liberal bloc's organized discussion group. Mr. Ramspeck is the chief House authority on civil-service legislation; Mr. Dunn is chairman of the Census Committee. Mr. Wood is head of the Missouri AFL; Mr. Connery is the brother of the wages-and-hours law's author.

Additional liberal-bloc veterans are: Representatives Knute Hill of Washington, John M. Houston of Kansas, Edward V. Izac of California, William S. Jacobsen of Iowa, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio, Charles H. Leavy of Washington, Sam C. Massingale of Oklahoma, Patrick Luther of Alabama, Albert Thomas of Texas and Jerry Voorhis of California. All these are Democrats; the sole surviving Wisconsin Progressives are Messrs. Bernard J. Gehrman and Merlin Hull. Two men on this list deserve special mention. Mr. Johnson had a major part of the administration's efforts last spring to fight off the candidacy of Vice President Garner; many observers believe he is pointed toward a great political career. Mr. Voorhis has perhaps done more than anyone else to make explicit the liberal bloc's credo. Lately he has had the thorny job of acting as New Deal representative on the Dies Committee.

Other House New Dealers include: Mr. Arthur T. Healey of Massachusetts, co-author of the Walsh-Healey Act; Mr. Abe Murdock of Utah, effective champion of the NLRB during the Smith Committee's investigation earlier this year; Mr. Frank E. Hook of Michigan, organizer of aid for Finland and the man who helped bring about exposure of Silver Shirt William Dudley Pelley; Mr. J. J. Dempsey of New Mexico, chiefly responsible for driving the Hatch Act through the House. Mr. Murdock defeated Senator King in the recent Utah primary; Mr. Dempsey came within a handful of votes of beating Senator Chavez in the New Mexico primary, and is now demanding a recount. Finally, mention must be made of Mr. Vito Marcantonio of New York, sole American Labor Party member. Mr. Marcantonio is a savage critic of the New Deal's foreign policy, and the only representative to vote against last spring's defense appropriations. Nevertheless, he is a faithful spokesman of a section of the organized labor movement. In the New York



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primary, he captured the ALP nomination and very nearly defeated the Democratic nominee as well.

The list of reactionary Democrats and conservative Republicans is, unhappily, too long to be commented upon here. Except for the Labor Committee, it includes most of the ranking members of the chief House committees. Four men perhaps symbolize the anti-Roosevelt opposition: Mr. Martin Dies of Texas; Mr. E. E. Cox of Georgia, enemy of the wages-and-hours bill and the CIO; Mr. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, investigator of the NLRB; Mr. Clifton T. Woodrum, also of Virginia, sponsor of the 1939 amendment that emasculated the WPA. All four, it is worth noting, are Southerners; all have successfully passed the Democratic primaries and all will be virtually untouchable in the November election.

Who Will Win?

SINCE LABOR DAY, many political observers have detected what they thought was a shift of popular sentiment in Roosevelt's favor. Immediately after his nomination last June, Mr. Willkie's strength mounted rapidly, and appeared to remain near its high point during July and August. Now it is seemingly evaporating. With election day less than five weeks distant, observers doubt that the pro-Roosevelt trend can be reversed. If it cannot, Mr. Willkie may end up by carrying no more than eight states, with about seventy-five electoral votes.

The 1936 election was the first in which polls based on scientific sampling were employed. The two best known those of Dr. Gallup and Fortune, both foretold the 1936 results; the Fortune poll was especially accurate. With the refinement of technique that has come through experience, we may expect that such polls will be still more exact in the present campaign. Dr. Gallup's first two polls, taken in August, showed Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie running almost shoulder to shoulder. Since then, however, his polls have revealed an increasing trend towards Mr. Roosevelt.

A survey of the present campaign properly starts with the 1938 election, the latest occasion when Republicans and Democrats put their fortunes to a nation-wide test. In 1938, the Republicans elected Governors in seventeen states: Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin and Wyoming. In New Jersey, there was no election for Governor, but a Republican, Mr. Barbour, handily won the race for the Senate. These eighteen states have a total of 198 electoral votes. Two hundred and sixty-six are needed for victory.

In the 1938 election, however, the Republicans also showed remarkable strength in two additional states, New York and Indiana. In New York, the Democratic candidate for Governor was Mr. Lehman, a generally beloved figure who commanded not only the full support of New Dealers and labor unions, but that of many conservatives as well. Yet he was hard pressed by Mr. Dewey, winning by only 65,000 votes of 4,700,000 cast. In Indiana, the only contest was for the Senate, and the Democratic candidate, Mr. Van Nuys, held a conspicuous place on Mr. Roosevelt's purge list. Mr. Van Nuys won, but it was widely believed that he did so with Republican votes. Still a third election—the 1939 mayoralty race in Chicago—was considered encouraging to the Republicans. Mr. Kelly was returned to office, but by a margin much smaller than the normal Republican plurality in down-state Illinois. If New York, Indiana and Illinois are added to our previous list, we have a total of twenty-one states, with 259 electoral votes, in which the Republicans have either won, or come within striking distance of victory, in the last two years.

To explain the smugness of the Republicans at the beginning of this year's campaign, it is necessary to mention the tide theory of politics. Under this theory —devoutly believed in by most politicians—a political party, if it once begins to lose strength, will continue to do until it has shrunk to its irreducible minimum of hardshell partisans. The Democratic Party was at its nadir of the present century in 1928, when Mr. Hoover broke into the Solid South. Thereafter, it either increased its strength, or held its own, in the 1930, 1932, 1934 and 1936 elections. In 1938, it suffered an important setback, losing eighty-one congressional seats. According to the tide theory, 1938 marked a turning point, and the Democrats should now be entering on an interval of decline.

By all indications, they are doing nothing of the sort. Viewed realistically, the 1938 elections did not show a popular revolt against the New Deal. The direct reason why the Democrats lost Pennsylvania, for example, was a bitter intra-party row between Mr. John L. Lewis and Senator Guffey, on one side, and the state chairman, Mr. Dave Lawrence, on the other. In neighboring Ohio, there was a nasty fight between Messrs. Davey and Sawyer. Back in 1938, the New Dealers claimed that the defeats of that year were a mere series of local accidents. Events seem to be proving them right.

How much of the supposedly formidable strength that the Republicans had at the time of his nomination has Mr. Willkie succeeded in keeping? Of the seventeen states that elected Republican Governors in 1938,

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many observers think that Connecticut, Idaho and Wyoming are now safe for Mr. Roosevelt, and polls seem to confirm their judgment. Of the remaining states that the Republicans carried, or came close to carrying, two years ago, Colorado, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Wisconsin are now doubtful in the highest degree. If they cannot be said to be solidly in Mr. Roosevelt's grasp, he at least has a substantial lead. If the current pro-Roosevelt trend continues, Mr. Willkie will also lose Illinois, Michigan, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Ohio. This would leave Mr. Willkie, as suggested earlier, with eight states, seven of which were won in 1938, and a newcomer, Nebraska. The eight are: Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont in New England; Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska in the Middle West; Mr. Willkie's own Indiana and almost always faithful South Dakota. They have seventy-six electoral votes. If Mr. Roosevelt sweeps the rest, he will win with 455 electoral votes.

In judging the present campaign, the only real problem is whether the existing drift towards Mr. Roosevelt will continue until election day. Political observers number the possible—although remote—dangers to his candidacy under four headings: white-collar vote, stay-at-home vote, third term and the war. In 1936, the New Dealers made original, and elaborate, calculations to determine the size of the white-collar group. They became convinced that the voting strength of white-collar workers is within a million or so of the other two basic voting groups, the industrial workers and the farmers. From this, they derived the working rule that, to win by a comfortable margin, a candidate must carry two of these three community divisions.

Although there is no such thing as a solid labor vote, and although Mr. John L. Lewis and certain AFL leaders—notably Big Bill Hutcheson—are opposing Mr. Roosevelt, it is certain that he will be supported by an overwhelming majority of industrial workers. Mr. Willkie hasn't a look-in. The farm vote, however, appears to be hopelessly divided. Consequently, it is important that Mr. Roosevelt take the bulk of the white-collar voters.

At the time of his nomination, Mr. Willkie was supposed to be the white-collar worker's hero. In a shrewd, cynical speech at the Philadelphia convention, Mr. Bruce Barton promised, out of his long familiarity with high-pressure salesmanship, that Willkie would deliver the white-collar vote intact. The most probable explanation of Mr. Willkie's appearance of strength during July and August is that during those months he did, in fact, have the white-collar workers' allegiance, while Mr. Roosevelt had the factory workers and the farm vote was split. It is also likely that Mr. Willkie's subsequent slump is due almost entirely to the desertion of white-collar voters from his standard—a suspicion fortified by Dr. Gallup's comments on his recent findings. It is probably accurate to say that the white-collar men and women will decide the election, but, from present indications, they are going to rally increasingly to Mr. Roosevelt's cause.

In a number of primaries, and in the Maine election, the vote was unusually light. Anti-New Deal observers profess to regard this as the second threat to Mr. Roosevelt's victory. They declare that conservative Democrats, although unwilling to violate their party regularity, are refusing to come to the polls. Mr. Farley's angry retirement from the national chairmanship, and the buffeting about that old-line Democratic bosses received at Chicago, they say, have injured the party organization and lessened its ability to bring out the vote. If the Democratic stay-at-home vote should reach 15 percent, Mr. Willkie would probably win the election.

However, the record of the primaries and the Maine election seems to show that the Republican vote has dropped off about as much as the Democratic. The fact seems to be that the organizations of both parties are functioning badly. But, while Mr. Farley's successor, Mr. Ed Flynn, is apparently strengthening the Democratic state machines, on the Republican side confusion and squabbling continue among regular party workers, the Willkie club members and Willkie Democrats. There is no evidence at present that the Democratic stay-at-home vote will be serious in November, or that it will exceed the Republican stay-at-homes.

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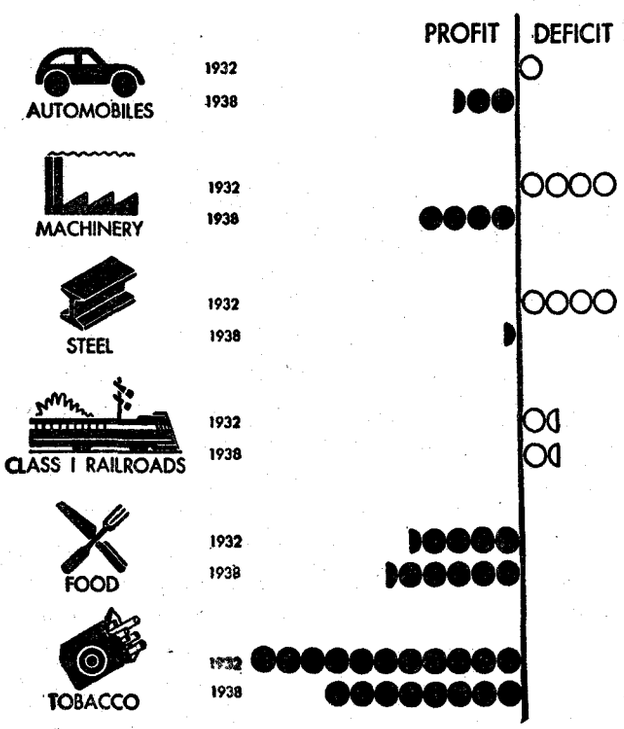
BUSINESS PROFITS AND DEFICITS



Each symbol represents 10 percent of 1929 profits. Chart prepared by Pictorial Statistics, Inc., and reproduced by permission from "The United States: A Graphic History," by Hacker, Modley and Taylor.

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We have had a third-term presidential nominee only once before in the country's history, in 1912. Because of the Bull Moose split in the Republican Party in that year, however, it is difficult to make useful comparisons with the present. Last spring, before the campaign started, many observers thought that the third-term issue would be difficult for Mr. Roosevelt to meet. So far, however, it has had no discernible effect upon the voters. The influence of the war issue is much easier to trace. During the Battle of France in May, Mr. Roosevelt's popularity, as measured in the Gallup poll, rose about five percentage points. It is entirely possible that Hitler's onslaught on England is primarily responsible for the current drift towards Mr. Roosevelt. It must be recognized, however, that the Roosevelt strength due to the war lacks substance. In the emotional paralysis that swept the country after the French government's surrender, Mr. Roosevelt lost all of his previous gains and more. If it should become certain that Hitler had abandoned his plans to invade England for the winter, Mr. Roosevelt would probably lose strength again—although there is no reason to think that the loss would be significant.

Although the campaign has not yet reached its critical stage, it would probably be safe to predict Mr. Roosevelt's triumph by a majority of at least 300 electoral votes but for one fact—that Mr. Willkie has the earnest backing of the country's great corporations, with all their enormous resources and influence. It is true that big business also backed Mr. Landon in 1936 and that he was buried by a Roosevelt avalanche. But the intensity with which corporation heads wish for Mr. Roosevelt's defeat is far greater than it was four years ago. The traditional election trick of big business—the creating of artificial hard times by closing down, or threatening to close down, its factories—apparently cannot be executed in the present campaign, when a flood of government munitions orders is beginning to pour forth. Nevertheless, the vigilance of New Deal sympathizers will be needed until the ballots have been counted on election day if they are to make sure of winning the election.

The Real Issues

IN THIS SUPPLEMENT we have recorded in summary form the data on which voters are supposed to make their decision at the polls—the platforms, short biographies of the candidates, the record of the opposition in Congress and the states where it has held power. All these things, however, comprise an insufficient basis for the act of judgment which ought to influence the vote of a thoughtful citizen. Each of us will have to make up his mind what each party, if successful, is likely to do in the future, and how well this performance will meet the needs of the nation. In order to contribute to this decision, the Editors here state briefly their own judgment, and the bases on which it rests.

First, what is the record of the New Deal, and how should one assess the attacks against it? The New Republic devoted an entire supplement to this subject, packed with facts, in its issue of May 20, 1940, entitled "New Deal in Review, 1936-1940." We see no reason to change the estimate then made.

1. Internal Reforms

Most of the social measures introduced since 1932 are likely to remain in force; they are defended by the Democrats and are given lip-service, at least for campaign purposes, by the Republican candidate. Mr. Willkie and his supporters attempt therefore to remove this part of the record from the campaign—on this subject, they say, there is no important difference between the candidates. If that contention should be taken literally, however, we ought not to forget, as was stated in our previous supplement, that "The New Deal, even in its second term, has clearly done far more for the general welfare of the country than any administration in the previous history of the nation."

It has in its second term carried through or strengthened—usually in spite of stiff opposition by conservatives of both parties—(1) legal support of collective bargaining through the National Labor Relations Act, which has encouraged the growth of that indispensable element in a strong democracy, a virile and widely organized trade-union movement; (2) the Labor Standards Act to protect minimum wages and maximum hours; (3) the Social Security Act; (4) a federal housing program; (5) reorganization of the executive department for greater efficiency; (6) renovation of a formerly obstructionist Supreme Court through excellent new appointments and procedural changes. In addition it has continued such previous projects as unemployment relief, the many-sided AAA, the TVA, great hydro-electric developments in other sections, the cheapening and expansion of electric service through the Rural Electrification Administration and other agencies, road building and flood control, conservation of soil and forests, regulation of finance by the SEC, and a youth program, as well as Mr. Hull's reciprocal trade treaties. This is no mean roster, and it is not one for which the Republicans can take credit, since they have bitterly criticized most of its individual items. Mr. Willkie himself was the outstanding enemy of the TVA and other power projects, while some of his companies have run afoul of the Labor Relations Act.

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2. Foreign Affairs

The Republicans also attempt to avoid any odious comparison on foreign relations, because both Willkie and Roosevelt favor preparedness, conscription, the utmost aid to Britain short of war, and abstention from sending soldiers abroad. Nevertheless charges have been made to catch voters on both sides of the fence. The Republicans began by accusing Mr. Roosevelt of making irresponsible statements attacking foreign governments, likely to get us into trouble. They also said that he would lead us into war. Mr. Willkie is supported by most of the pro-Nazi and Fascist elements in the country. Mr. Wallace has accused the Republicans of being potential appeasers. Mr. Willkie's answer to that was to repudiate the fifth-column support, to deny that he was an appeaser and to make the fantastic charge that Mr. Roosevelt was responsible for Munich. Meanwhile, the general argument is advanced that Mr. Roosevelt is guilty, through bad administration, of bungling and delaying defense, and of being unable to obtain the coöperation of business in defense production. Mr. Willkie, it is said, being a business man, would do better.

Again we consult the record. The New Republic criticized the President for his Chicago speech calling for a quarantine against aggressors, and for certain other utterances of the same kind. It did so because, although it was bitterly opposed to Hitler, it believed that Hitler would pay no attention to threats which the threatener was not prepared to execute and back up with force. It has applauded in turn each of the several acts by the President against the aggressors.

The President opposed the Neutrality Act, which The New Republic favored. We approved of this act, not because we were impartial or isolationist or believed in appeasement, but (1) because we did not want this country to be drawn into war against its better judgment by mere incidents or economic pressure, and (2) because the act threw our economic support automatically behind Britain and France, which controlled the seas. We agreed with the President in urging repeal of the embargo on arms at the outbreak of war, and reënactment of cash-and-carry. Our most severe criticism of the President concerned his illogical insistence on applying the Neutrality Act to the civil war in Spain, thus hampering the Loyalists. But the Republicans did not oppose him on this ground, and presumably still approve.

Under President Roosevelt, appropriations for national defense grew from $633,000,000 in 1933 to $895,000,000 in 1937 and then jumped skyward to the present gigantic figures. It is interesting to note that defense expenses are the only major item of the federal budget which has grown substantially during Mr. Roosevelt's second term. We ought to have spent more and earlier for this purpose, but Mr. Roosevelt was ahead of the Republicans in his insistence on larger military appropriations and nobody understood quickly enough what our peril might be.

The Republicans have on almost every occasion been on the isolationist side in specific disputes. When two of their most eminent members and pro-British sympathizers, Messrs. Stimson and Knox, were appointed Secretaries, respectively, of War and the Navy, they threw them out of the party. They voted in Congress two to one against the conscription bill. Mr. Willkie opposed the conscription of industry which was included in it, and challenged Mr. Roosevelt to declare himself on that proposal. We agree with the President that if the peril leads us to conscript men, we cannot allow private industry to refuse to coöperate. When Mr. Roosevelt made the agreement with Britain to exchange over-age destroyers for naval and air bases, Mr. Willkie criticized him for not submitting the question to Congress, apparently not caring about the delay which that would have caused.

Neither the national government nor the country is, in our opinion, making enough speed to cope with a possibly victorious Hitler, or giving all possible aid to Britain while there is still time. But it looks to us as if Mr. Roosevelt is doing a better job in those respects than a Republican would. Mr. Willkie is not a great organizing executive but a utility lawyer. And we believe Mr. Roosevelt is not only capable of enlisting all the coöperation business will offer through such men as Messrs. Stimson, Knox, Stettinius and Knudsen, but is also better equipped to crack down on business if that is necessary. Mr. Willkie frankly states that the latter course is against his principles, even in defense of the nation against a foreign enemy.

The experience of both Britain and France gives ample evidence that industrial coördination for total defense is not likely to be furthered by a business government. Baldwin and Chamberlain both represented conservative business men in Britain, while capital and big business consistently sabotaged military appropriations and military preparations under all governments in France. Churchill is virtually an independent, who gave prominent labor representatives the most responsible posts in his Cabinet. Most of the political appeasers have represented men of wealth.

3. Economic Policy

The main drive of the Republicans and of Mr. Willkie himself is against the major economic policies of the President. He has failed, they say, to bring recovery and eliminate unemployment. The reason assigned is that he has discouraged business by restrictive legislation and has destroyed business confidence by failure to balance the budget.

The facts are that a substantial and rapid recovery occurred between 1932 and 1936, but that between

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then and the middle of the present year there was no consistent growth in production or employment. Most of the so-called "restrictive legislation" was enacted in the first term, when recovery was occurring. Some of it was abolished by the Supreme Court before the end of that term. Under competition of the TVA, Mr. Willkie's power companies have made more money and sold more electricity than ever before. The great laggards in recovery have been the industries making capital goods and construction materials, and their former chief customers, the railroads and building construction. None of these industries suffered from New Deal legislation, but rather from former speculative sprees and from the high prices which they continued to charge—in the case of steel and building materials often by collusive action. And recovery took a spurt whenever government spending and borrowing increased, but fell off whenever the budget tended in the direction of balance. Neither ordinary expenses of the government nor recovery and relief expenditures increased markedly during the second term.

The Republicans could not have balanced the budget without decreasing expenditures and increasing taxes. And they certainly could not have reduced spending without chopping down unemployment relief, farm benefits or other welfare legislation which they now say they favor. If they had done these things, they would probably not have buttressed business confidence but would have intensified the depression and produced a dangerous social crisis.

We have our own criticism of the President for not having produced full employment, but we think the Republicans or the anti-New Deal Democrats would have done a much worse job than he. The main troubles are that (a) he did not spend enough on housing and other public investment and (b) he did not take effective measures against unduly high prices. It is probable that he would have gone further in the desirable direction if it had not been for bitter opposition from business and Republicans.

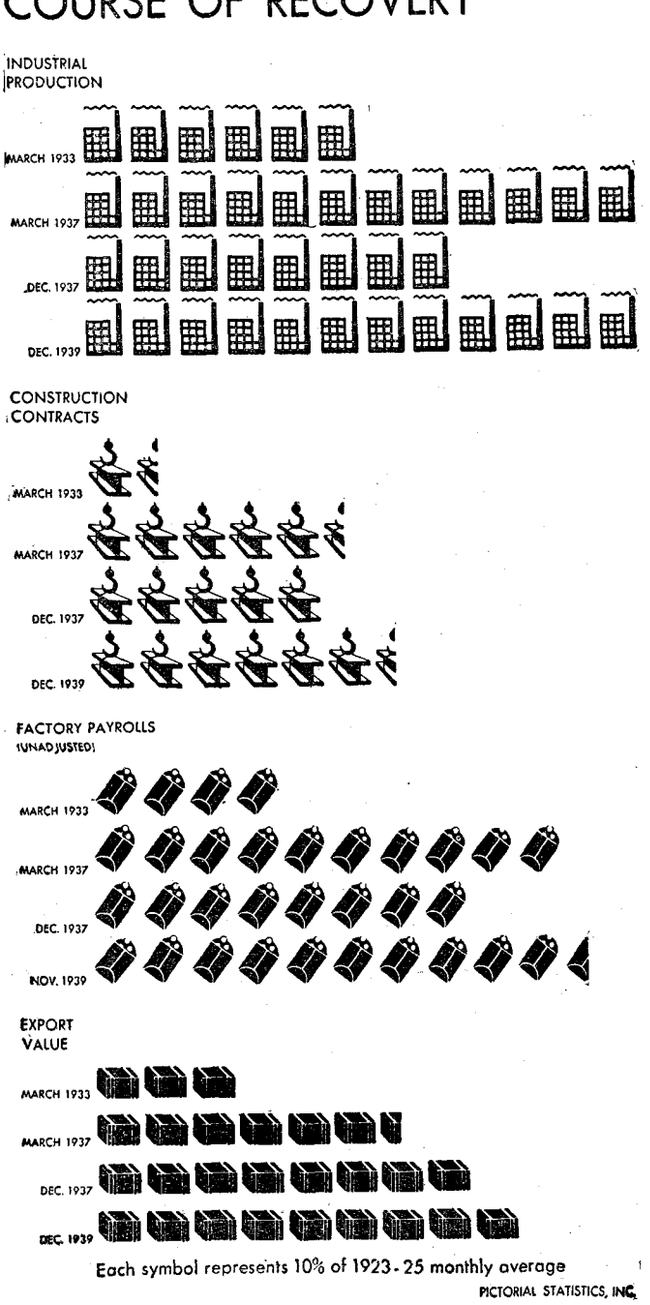
In any event, business is now rapidly improving and unemployment is falling, because of greatly increased governmental spending on armament. The Republicans do not propose to cut this spending, or to levy higher taxes to pay for it than the Democrats favor, and so the whole issue is, for the moment, academic.

If and when the defense effort is demobilized, careful planning and a large measure of governmental intervention will be required to carry through the transition and maintain full production and employment for peacetime purposes. We are not satisfied that the President or his advisers have any adequate program for this eventuality, but we are certain that the Republican formula of old-fashioned laissez-faire—which leaves everything to unrestricted private enterprise—would result in an unprecedented economic calamity.

4. The Third Term

There is a tradition against a third term that counts heavily in some voters' minds. It is true that no previous President has had one, but it is not true that Thomas Jefferson or the other historical figures usually cited against it barred the possibility in times of crisis. After the heavy burden of two terms in office most Presidents do not wish to assume another, and we are certain that Mr. Roosevelt was sincere in his expression of the same wish. He was nominated, not because that was his preference or because he was personally indispensable, but because the opposition of Democratic conservatives had made doubtful the nomination or election of any other available New Dealer.

As for the frenzied charges that to reëlect Mr. Roosevelt would destroy democracy and establish a dictatorship, they are arrant nonsense. The most demo-



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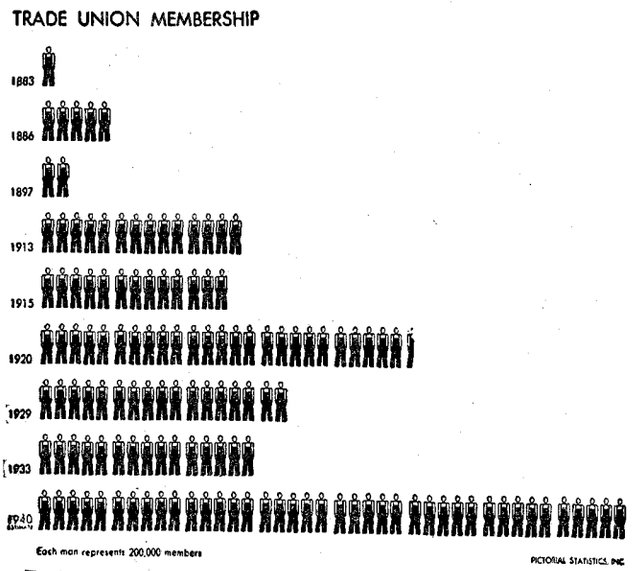
cratic forces in the country support the President; the anti-democrats and plutocrats oppose him. By no conceivable stretch of the imagination can one picture his accepting a fourth or a fifth term or establishing a family dynasty. The heads of other democratic governments such as Britain or France have frequently been voted back into office more than once. The third-term



Each man represents 200,000 members. Chart prepared by Pictorial Statistics, Inc., and reproduced by permission from "The United States: A Graphic History," by Hacker, Modley and Taylor.

issue is not a serious obstacle in the minds of many who do not oppose the President on other grounds.

5. The Biggest Issue

In our opinion there is one issue that is so large that it overshadows every other. It is customary to say that we are now living in a great crisis in world history, but few understand how deeply and thoroughly that is true. What has been collapsing in the past twenty years is not just a temporary period of prosperity or a specific peace settlement. It is the civilization that men have been building in the western world ever since the Middle Ages. Hitler, in one sense, is merely an incident in this great change; he has been giving a fatally sick society its *coup de grâce*. We live in revolutionary times. We need imagination, boldness, faith, experiment, readiness to act, if we are to preserve what was good in the past and create something new that is better.

It is not a question of defending what we have against an assault; those who assume the defensive on a large scale are lost. The need of the times is basic revaluation and thorough reconstruction. Nazism and fascism pretend to offer the world such revolutionary values. Their campaign is not just one of military power and deceitful intrigue; even more it is one of ideas and dynamic emotion. They can be defeated only by an equally revolutionary and dynamic movement, which offers the peoples already conquered, the rest of the world and even the Germans themselves a sounder and more inspiring alternative.

Conservatives are utterly unfitted to cope with this crisis. They do not have the faintest shadow of understanding of what is happening; they are automata imprisoned by their own habit and prejudice. The leadership of men with their eyes on the past has betrayed nation after nation in the past months.

The New Deal is far from an adequate remedy to offer the world in its desperate need. But at least it is a groping in the right direction; it has broken through the crust of custom and offers a chance for something better. It has given the United States a worldwide prestige. Mr. Roosevelt is a world figure, in whom the masses everywhere are more ready to repose their faith than in anyone else opposed to the dictators—even Mr. Churchill. What is the call to battle which his opponent offers us instead? It is a belief in the supremacy of private business enterprise for private gain! No such slogan can rally the anti-Nazi forces in any country. In the present storm and whirlwind, Mr. Willkie reminds us of nothing so much as a bumptious small boy with a tin whistle.

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This Man Willkie — How to Pay for Defense

The Voters' Handbook

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